Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-155
Friday
10 August 1990

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FBIS-EEU-90-155 *10 August 1990*

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Invasion of Kuwait Arouses 'Indignation'

AU0908130990 Tirana ATA in English 0907 GMT 9 Aug 90

["'The Immediate and Unconditional Withdrawal of the Iraqi Troops From Kuwait is in the Interest of Peace'—The Newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT Writes"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, August 9 (ATA)—The situation in the Gulf region following Iraq's attack against Kuwait remains tense. This tension is not easing, on the contrary it is mounting, implicating both the other states of the region and other states out of this region, the commentator Sokol Gjoka writes in the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT on August 9.

Iraq's military intervention in Kuwait was made at a time when the process of detente was under way in many regions of the world. Efforts are being made to put an end to even those conflicts which have been prolonged for many years now, as the Cambodian, Palestinian-Israeli ones etc. Meanwhile, positive steps are made in relations to the process of disarmament leaving room to dialogue, cooperation, peace, security, etc. And it is precisely at this moment that another hotbed is created. For these reasons, the aggression against Kuwait has aroused the indignation of the broad public opinion.

It is in interest of Iraq and Kuwait, of their neighbourly relations, that the Iraqi troops withdraw from Kuwait and their disagreements pacify through talks, the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT writes. It is in the interest of the states of the region of the Gulf, Middle East and broader, that peace be established between Iraq and Kuwait as soon as possible. The solution to this conflict would serve first of all the peoples of both countries. Taking into account these interests and those of the Arab countries in general, including here also the strengthening of unity within OPEC, the newspaper points out, it is necessary that a speedy and unconditional withdrawal of all the Iraqi military troops from Kuwait as well as the correct solution of all the problems existing between these countries be found to the benefit of the two parties and of peace in the region and the world, ZERI I POPULLIT concludes.

National Assembly Adopts Law on Military Service

AU0908153690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1415 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Svoboda Nedeva report on 17th Session of the Seventh Grand National Assembly in Sofia—live]

[Text] Dear listeners, a recess was announced at the 17th Session of the National Assembly. The deputies received a draft on a decision, prepared by the Legislative Commission this morning, related to the examination of the following two documents: the amendment to the Law on General Military Service and a draft law on repeal of decrees. These documents were actually adopted yesterday following the first reading and the first vote.

The proposal was not to amend the law in total, but just to reduce the regular military service to 18 months. While the service men who joined the armed forces in September 1988 should be released by 1 September 1990, and the sailors who joined the Navy in September 1988 and the service men who joined in January 1989 should be released by 1 October 1990.

Numerous arguments and objections in favor of even an greater reduction in the military service period were submitted by several speakers who took the floor during the ensuing debate.

Following the vote, the resolution on the first draft law was adopted at the second reading. During the second vote on the draft law concerning the repealing of the three State Council decrees, certain amendments were made in connection with young people working under difficult conditions. After the second vote the two draft laws legally entered into force.

Our live relay from the Grand National Assembly is excpected to continue following the recess.

Semerdzhiev on Reduction in Military Service

AU0908190090 Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 9 Aug (BTA)—From now on, Bulgarian conscripts will have to serve half a year less.

The Grand National Assembly today enacted legislation amending the General Conscription Act. Under it, the term of conscription will be 18 months instead of 24. University graduates will be required to serve 12 months.

General Atanas Semerdzhiev, vice president of the Republic, who until the end of last year was chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army, told the press that the conscription term had to be reduced to match the needs of the country's defence and to comply with the demands of young people.

The vice president confirmed to the BTA that the parties represented in parliament are holding consultations on the formation of a consultative council with the presidency, and added that the council will soon be a fact, but declined to elaborate.

M.P.'s Approve President's 'Consultative Council'

AU0908132390 Sofia BTA in English 0719 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 9 Aug (BTA)—In the opinion of the members of different parliamentary groups a consultative council formed by the parties represented at the Bulgarian Parliament should be set up with the Presidency to speed up the transition to democracy.

Aleksandur Tomov of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) thinks that it is a good idea, because the council could create the conditions for eliminating partisan bias in the work of the Presidency. The leaders of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and the Movement for Rights and Freedoms and M.P.'s of the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) also approve the idea put forward by President Zhelyu Zhelev.

Some say that the initiative is a result of the new president's intention to be in the vanguard of the democratic process. The president and the parliament could move towards democracy in a synchronized way. The consultative council could help in overcoming possible crises in parliament resulting from its parity, SDS M.P. Aleksandur Yordanov said.

In Mr. Yordanov's view the consultative council would become yet another centre of the democratic process directly related to the activity of the head of state. According to him the present centres of democracy are the SDS, the new parliament and some reform-minded Socialists who, however, do not enjoy their party's broad support.

The setting up of such a council is viewed from yet another point—the consultative council could take the making of some important political decisions from the parliament and devolve them upon the Presidency, Aleksandur Yordanov said. Hints at similar fears have already been made in the press. There is the danger of the parliamentary republic switching to a presidential type of democracy and I personally share these fears, said Aleksandur Yordanov of the Radical Democratic Party, which is sharply opposed to the "conspiratorial" settlement of the problems which lie within the competence of the parliament. Mr. Tomov of the BSP also insists that the council should be only a consultative one.

Fears become more tangible because of the still existing "Zhivkovist," "nomenclature" type of administration in the country, by which a small number of people make decisions of paramount importance. But the pluralism in the Bulgarian Parliament will not allow the transference of the decisions of the consultative council directly into the political reality without them being sanctioned by the National Assembly, Mr. Yordanov told a BTA reporter.

Beron Elected Leader of SDS Parliamentary Group

AU0908133990 Sofia BTA in English 1254 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 9 Aug (BTA)—Mr. Petur Beron was elected president of the Parliamentary Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). Mr. Dimitur Ludzhev was elected vice president of the faction.

Mr. Petur Beron succeeded Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev as chairman of the SDS Coordinating Council after the latter was elected president of the Republic.

Rise in Unemployment Expected by Year's End

AU1008080490 Sofia OTECHESTVEN VESTNIK in Bulgarian 2 Aug 90 p 2

[Maya Lyubomirska article: "By the Year's End Every Tenth Bulgarian Will Be Out of Work"]

[Text] Specialists forecast that by the end of 1990 about 75,000 to 85,000 Bulgarians will lose their jobs. At the moment, the reality is different. The transition of the economy toward market competition, the closure of inefficient or polluting plants, conversion of military industry, and cuts in administrative staff have put over 22,000 Bulgarians on the dole. Some of them have sought their luck abroad. Without dramatizing the exodus from the country, we must now get accustomed to the free and unrestricted movement of the labor force, which will internationalize the unemployment problem. Our problem is that the Bulgarian is seeking to permanently settle in the developed countries, which is leading to a permanent outflow of manpower (in contrast to Yugoslavia, for example, where the husband may work abroad, but the family stays at home).

We are assured by the Labor and Social Security Committee that our present unemployment is temporary, but there is a tendency for it to become permanent. This requires the three "giants"—the trade unions, employers, and the government—to pool their efforts in order to stimulate economic interest in creating new jobs. At the moment we have 44,772 vacancies, of which only 2,500 are for specialists. It is clear that the next government will have to offer something, like a comprehensive package of documents. to parliament concerning labor legislation. These documents, for example. should "untie the hands" of private initiative—a major unused source of jobs for almost 100,000 unemployed. The Hamlet-type question of social security or retraining is at present moving in the direction of investing in redirection of labor. However, the 121 employment offices in the country have managed to attract only 240 people to retraining courses, which proves yet again that our economy at the moment contains no active structures which compel people to retrain. The explanation for this can hardly lie in the six-month period of social security payments at the minimum wage rate, nor is one reassured by the promise that when indexation is introduced, the insurance payments will rise according to inflation. The fact that 13,700 workers have lost their jobs also gives little indication of a desire to quickly abolish the cumbersome administrative machine with its excessive red tape. Even more alarming is the fact that over 14,000 of the unemployed are women. If we also add concealed unemployment—which has still not been mentioned officially—we will convince ourselves of the need for speedy economic measures and decisions by the government, instead of endless fruitless debates in parliament.

Government TV Statement on Prices Criticized

AU0908165390 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 28 Jul 90 p 2

[Price Expert Stoyan Stoyanov article: "The Prices Are Ours, but Mr. Lukanov Should Apologize"]

[Text] The truth about our everyday life is more than bitter: Prices will increase overall; there is no other solution, given the state's immense internal and foreign debts. This truth completely contradicts the wonderful words about "social" socialism in the platform of the Bulgarian Socialist Party. Moreover, the socialist government has already openly acknowledged this—not in words, but in figures, which empty the pockets and dinner tables of the "fortunate" Bulgarian people.

The new prices for all goods were ready at the beginning of the year, but they were announced only after the elections. They were set in a very simple way—by taking into account all the costs arising from the new purchase prices and the prices of imported materials. In this sense, Mr. Pekhlivanov, deputy chairman of the Committee on Prices under the Council of Ministers, did not tell the truth in his television interview.

Petroleum products and gasoline are included in List No. 1; i.e., their prices are directly monitored by the Council of Ministers and cannot be changed without its consent. Estimates and calculations are prepared in advance—before these prices are amended—because any changes affect the whole of the country's socioeconomic status as well as the living standard of the average Bulgarian.

Under the supervision of Mr. Pekhlivanov, the specialists worked out the new prices as far back as last March, and coordinated them with the competent bodies of other ministries and, most importantly, with the budget (we should not forget that the budget was planned with a deficit!). Accordingly, the new prices, including those for petroleum products, must have been ready long ago, and must have been approved by the government. The recent actions by the Soviet Government merely provide a justification (and were probably also known in advance).

The millions of television viewers were also deceived in connection with the assertion that the prices of petroleum products and gasoline have been included in the government's program for "liberalizing" the prices of 40 commodities. This is not true—not a single commodity in this program comes from List No. 1. All commodities come from List No. 3, and the prices of 19 groups of these goods

were already "freed" by the increase announced on 1 July. Mr. Pekhlivanov is well aware of this.

The increase in prices, I repeat, is not just the result of our billions of dollars of debts, which, for their part, have arisen because of the inefficient Bulgarian economy. It is necessary to immediately eliminate the extremely expensive administrative management; the numbers of highly paid employees in ministries, government departments, and municipal councils should be reduced by 80 percent, and the administrative managements turned into a professional one. This can only be achieved by removing the state's hold on the economy. Instead of this, by Council of Ministers Decree No. 75 of 16 July 1990, Mr. Lukanov raised the salaries of these employees (although it seems as if he has no intention of sparing a thought for more than half of the Bulgarians who subsist below the minimum standard of living, despite his outward show of "concern" for the socially weak). Indeed, the premier "reformer" knows all too well that real reforms will make the feudal nomenklatura superfluous, and that the higher the salaries of the members of this nomenklatura, the more "spokes" will be put in the cartwheel of the Bulgarian economy on its way toward the market.

'Objective Television' Movement Issues Decree

AU0908161090 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 3 Aug 90 p 2

[Text] A declaration of the Civic Movement for a National and Objective Television sent to the press agencies had voiced concern over the increasing tendency of television to daily represent the information, events, and facts of our lives in a negative and biased fashion, as well as over the information blackout imposed by Bulgarian Television in connection with the nationality issue.

The declaration describes several incidents where participants in the movement's peaceful protest in front of the Bulgarian Television building were subjected to moral and physical pressure by members of the Union of Democratic Forces. It also states that television must unite the entire nation. The movement is demanding the resignation of the entire management of Bulgarian Television and the setting up of a public and parliamentary commission for control over television's activities.

Petition Sent to President

AU0908161290 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 7 Aug 90 p 2

[Text] On 6 August the Civic Movement for a National and Objective Television submitted an open letter, addressed to the president—to the president's office for correspondence (formerly called the registry).

The letter addresses a petition to the president asking him to back the demand calling for a public and parliamentary commission for the control and protection of television to be established by the Grand National Assembly. The letter also demands the collective resignation of the existing management of Bulgarian Television.

The letter states that the absence of public control and protection, the ingrained habit of defending narrow party interests, and the screening "privileges" given to the large political forces have hindered television from becoming a nationwide, objective mass medium.

The Civic Movement for a National and Objective Television opposes the antidemocratic possibilities television presents, and its role as a so-called center of information power in our society. The letter also points out the risks arising from television abuses and from professionalism void of any and all professional ethics.

The movement appeals to the president, relying on his democratic views and his intentions to create relations based on partnership in society, rather than those based on confrontation and elimination.

Secretariat Listens to Journalists' Key Concerns

AU0808210190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 8 Aug 90

[Text] I would like to brief you, in part, on a declaration issued by the Secretariat of the Bulgarian Journalists Union: The journalists' association of Sofia Radio and representatives of the Bulgarian Television team, in response to a declaration of their colleagues from the radio-television centers in Varna and Plodiv—including personnel of regional centers and radio stations from Shumen, Stara Zagora, Blagoevgrad, and Ruse—attended the Bulgarian Journalists Union Secretariat. The most crucial problems—emerging in connection with the unjust labor wages in the audio-visual mass media, the status of the journalists' profession in that sector, and the state of their material-technical facilities—were discussed.

The Secretariat categorically supports the just demands of the colleagues, and expressed its fundamental stand in defense of their trade union interests.

The collective leadership of the Journalists Union supports the social status of the journalistic profession as an independent trade union organization. It also adopts actions to support specific trade unions, and supports the journalist playing his appropriate role in public life. In this specific case, the Union of Journalists is actively involved in labor disputes for a just remuneration of journalistic work on which the social atmosphere in our country greatly depends.

The Union of Bulgarian Journalists addresses this declaration to the Grand National Assembly and to the future parliamentary commission in charge of radio and television, confident that the aforementioned problem will be treated on a priority basis in its work.

Protesters 'Wrap' Lenin Statue 'in Cardboard'

AU0908202290 Sofia BTA in English
1950 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Plovdiv, 9 Aug (BTA)—Today onlookers applauded as three mountaineers started dismantling a hammer and sickle decorating the former headquarters of the local BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party] Committee. The operation took nearly two hours and a half. The dismantling was ordered by a borough council which moved into part of the vacated floors.

Today the residents of the local Town of Truth requested a formal permission to wrap in cardboard the monument to Lenin which stands across the fair grounds in Plovdiv. Even though they were not granted such a permission, they carried out their intention. They had prepared cartons and slogans reading: "We don't want dictators' monuments," "Lenin, I love you to a point," "Made in USSR," as well as a proposal for the removal of the monument signed by the residents of the Town of Truth.

Alleged Socialist 'Purge' in Provincial Cities

AU0908141290 Sofia BTA in English
0835 GMT 9 Aug 90

["Purge in the Ranks of the Socialists"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 9 Aug (BTA)—In the last month the Socialists in the biggest provincial cities Plovdiv, Varna and Burgas, distanced themselves from their former and present leaders.

They are accused of corruption, breaking the law, abusing power for their own benefit. They are blamed for "inflicting damages not only to the Socialists' organizations, but to the economy in these regions." Already in February some provincial organizations distanced themselves from some of their former leaders. Now the rank-and-file Socialists are doing it, and they insist that all concrete data should be revealed.

Among the incriminated leaders there are people who ruled the provinces for years on end in Zhivkov's time. Most of them were members of the former Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party. Some of them were promoted after November 10, 1989, but it created discontent "at the bottom."

After the elections the leaderships in Plovdiv and Varna resigned—the opposition won a overwhelming victory there. But anyway the leaders were not spared "the distancing" of their party mates.

"Distancing ourselves or not, we are to bear the responsibility," DUMA writes today, and expresses discontent that at the latest conferences held by the Socialists in Burgas, Varna, Plovdiv and Kyustendil the only proposal was that "the basic party organizations should take a stand on the behaviour of these people" and that there was no mention of bringing to justice "at least the people whose crimes are documented."

It is not enough to distance oneself, DUMA writes. The Bulgarian Socialist Party should take to task the concrete persons.

Ecologists Complete First Check in Ruse, Giurgiu

AU0908165290 Sofia BTA in English
1620 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Ruse, 9 Aug (BTA)—The mixed Bulgaro-Romanian commission of governmental experts in the area of Ruse and Giurgiu is completing the first stage of its work.

After a thoroughgoing analysis of the technical and technological condition of the installations and equipment at the three working areas of the Chemical Combined Works in Giurgiu, which pollutes the air in Ruse, the Bulgarian part of the commission is preparing its findings and recommendations for an overall solution of the ecological problems in that sensitive area. Together with the findings and recommendations of the Romanian members of the commission, who visited and checked dozens of economic organisations in Ruse, these results will be submitted to the Governments of Bulgaria and Romania by August 15, five days earlier than the deadline set in the July 4 protocol signed by Prime Ministers Mr. Andrey Lukanov and Mr. Petre Roman.

Lukanov Meets Trade Union Confederation Leaders

AU0808194190 Sofia Domestic Service
in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 8 Aug 90

[Text] A meeting was held under the leadership of Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, in which questions contained in the address of the Independent Trade Union Confederation Executive Committee to the government, and some specific tasks stemming from the general agreement signed among the confederation, the government, and the National Council of the Association of Economic Managers in March 1990, were discussed.

The meeting was attended by Krustyu Petkov, chairman of the Independent Trade Unions Confederation in Bulgaria, by Stoyan Kadiev, deputy chairman of the National Council of the Association of Economic Managers, by ministers, leading officials of various departments, and experts.

As a result of detailed debates, it was decided that an agreement should be signed covering the questions discussed by 10 August 1990.

In implementing the agreements contained in the overall general agreement, the Council of Ministers adopted a decree according to which companies and other organizations are entitled to take over the management and administration of rest and recreation homes which have been denationalized.

Lukanov Meets With Podkrepa Leader on Inflation

AU0908190190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] In connection with the declaration of the Federal Council of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation, a meeting was held today between Council of Ministers Chairman Andrey Lukanov; Dr. Konstantin Trenchev, president of the Podkrepa Independent Labor Federation; and Dr. Krustyu Krustev, chairman of the National Health Workers Trade Union. Members of the government, experts, and Stoyan Kabulov, deputy chairman of the National Union of Economic Leaders also took part in the meeting.

The meeting discussed problems connected with compensating the population's incomes for the rises in the prices of consumer goods, privatization, the drafting of a tax and credit system to provide incentives for the private and cooperative sector, as well as issues concerning a draft law on health care, developing a health insurance system, and other matters.

Consensus was reached that an agreement on the main issues raised in the declaration should be signed with the government.

Zhelev's First Meeting With Diplomatic Missions

AU0908134390 Sofia BTA in English 1250 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, 9 Aug (BTA)—"A broad national consensus is emerging on Bulgaria's foreign policy," said Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev, president of the Republic, at his first meeting with the chiefs of the diplomatic missions in Sofia.

He outlined the areas of this consensus: Bulgaria's opening up to the world, securing international guarantees for its territorial integrity and national security in the context of Europe, a priority promotion of contacts with the highly advanced industrialized countries, activated efforts to get this country integrated into Europe's economic and political structures.

Dr. Zhelev stressed that these areas also include the enhancement and the placing on a new, more sincere basis of the relations with the Soviet Union and the other East European countries, the pursuit of ever more friendly and good-neighbourly relations with the Balkan peoples, a preservation and promotion of all positive elements in the traditional cooperation with Bulgaria's partners in the Middle East, Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The Bulgarian state leadership shares the concern of the international community over the tensions in the Persian Gulf and will support the resolutions which the UN Security Council will adopt, Dr. Zhelev said.

The president said that Bulgaria was on the right track. Referring to the ongoing consultations on solving Bulgaria's problems, Dr. Zhelev said that according to the prevailing opinion these problems can only be solved on the basis of the market economy, of social justice and swift democratization.

On behalf of the foreign diplomats the doyen of the diplomatic corps Mr. Egon Rommel, ambassador of the GDR, assured the Bulgarian president that the foreign envoys will do everything in their power to assist Bulgaria in the line it has adopted.

Drenchev: Opposition Agrarians To Stay in SDS

AU0908165690 Sofia BTA in English 1537 GMT 9 Aug 90

["Nikola Petkov BZNS To Stay in SDS"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, 9 Aug (BTA)—Mr. Milan Drenchev, chief secretary of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, told a news conference here today that only two formulations have been coordinated in the negotiations between the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party (Nikola Petkov BZNS) on their possible merger. One formulation concerns the name of the organisation, which until its next congress will be called BZNS United Nikola Petkov. The other formulation concerns the party's daily newspaper, which will retain its title "ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME" but will feature in its masthead the portraits of Aleksandur Stamboliyski and Nikola Petkov.

Asked who would head the leadership of the future party, Mr. Milan Drenchev said that so far no one has called into question or has disputed the leadership of the Nikola Petkov BZNS.

The union reaffirmed its stand on retaining its affiliation to the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS). "We will take an active part in the SDS and we will work in unity with the other parliamentary factions of the democratic forces as long as the political situation requires it," Mr. Drenchev said.

Japanese Parliamentary Group Pays Visit

AU0908131390 Sofia BTA in English 1221 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Sofia, August 9 (BTA)—A delegation of the Commission on the Protection of Environment with the Chamber of Representatives of the Japanese Parliament headed by the chairman of the commission, Mr. Shiniya Totsuka, paid a two-day visit here.

The guests had meetings with representatives of different ministries and departments; they were received by Mr. Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, and had talks with Bulgarian parliamentarians.

The Bulgarian side showed interest in the Japanese legislation regulating the conservation of nature.

A desire was expressed for the promotion of parliamentary cooperation and first of all of the two countries' relations in economy and trade. According to the Japanese delegates there are good opportunities for increasing Bulgaria's exports to Japan, setting up joint enterprises and making investments.

The delegation left the country today.

* Rise of DPS Linked to Zhivkov Ethnic Policy

90BA0244A Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 17 Jul 90 p 2

[Volen Siderov article: "The Parliament Must Be Bulgarian!"]

[Text] This is not the lynching of Dogan but a trial of the crimes committed by the Communist regime.

Thirteen of a total of 231 deputies of the Constituent Assembly, which was summoned on 10 February 1879 in Turnovo to adopt a constitution, were Turks.

The Seventh Grand National Assembly has 23 representatives of the DPS [Movement for Rights and Freedoms], which is, essentially, a Muslim party. This is a precedent in Bulgarian history.

On 10 July the Velchova Zavera Square in Veliko Turnovo was filled with people shouting "Give Us Dogan!" and "No Turks in Parliament!" There was something comical despite the tension, when the majority started shouting: "The parliament must be Bulgarian!" This was addressed at the cars of the diplomatic corps that were slowly making their way toward the barricades. It seemed as though the British and American diplomats were going to attend a session and formulate the new laws for Bulgaria instead of merely being guests at a ceremony.

Meanwhile, Dogan reached the Kolyu Ficheto building by a different route, and all that time, although in a security zone, he moved closely surrounded by his parliamentary group. I had the feeling that they were protecting him from an attempt on his life in the presence of a large police force and special units.

Could this be considered a normal atmosphere for parliamentary work? Will the DPS group always move within a police line in going to the National Assembly building? I am convinced that these people, who were waiting on 10 July in Turnovo, will be waiting in Sofia as well. It is most likely that there will be even more people waiting. There is no reason to believe that such people will behave more peacefully.

What was the reason for the third speech to be delivered by Viktor Vulkov instead of by Akhmed Dogan, who heads the third-largest group in parliament? Was this complicated situation not the precise reason for which the first real session was postponed for an entire week? A full week was lost, despite the fact that urgent problems had to be resolved as soon as possible against a background of continuing political strikes and rising social tension....

And so: "Give Us Dogan!" How did matters reach so far that Medi Doganov, appeals on whose behalf we signed and for whose release from incarceration as a political prisoner the "273" Committee and defenders of the law in our country before 10 November fought, has become the target of a lynching movement?

The movement for the rights and freedoms of Turks and Muslims in Bulgaria (as initially described) was the culminating point of the opposition to the genocide pursued by the Zhivkov regime. In their ruthless aspiration to full electoral victory, the Communists registered this movement and allowed it to nominate its candidate, knowing very well that such candidates stood a chance of being elected and would draw votes away from the SDS. That is precisely what happened. Meanwhile, the Committee for the Defense of National Interests, inspired by State Security and by the okrug party leadership, started a process difficult to control, for the ordinary people in the "hot areas" became increasingly firm in their objection to Dogan.

"Dogan tricked everyone." "He is the sharpest politician." That is what one hears today most frequently as the assessment of this former political prisoner. Whether Dogan is the cleverest politician is a question to be answered with historical distance. One thing is sure: Dogan is the logical consequence of the criminal policy pursued by the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party], not only toward ethnic minorities but also toward the Bulgarian nation as a whole. If Dogan did not exist another leader would have appeared. One way or another, an action always triggers a reaction. The blow dealt at the Muslims in Bulgaria was fierce. Most of the criminals who committed it are still in their old positions. Some of them are even deputies in parliament. Should we not begin by letting the angry demonstrators deal with them? In considering the legitimacy of the registration of the DPS and its presence in the Grand National Assembly as a party (in practical terms), should we not consider also the legitimacy of the parliamentary group of the BSP [Bulgarian Socialist Party], as the heir of the BCP, whose entire leadership should be held responsible for the crimes against the nation and not assigned deputy seats?

I also overheard the following retort in the discussions at Velchova Zavera Square, in front of the police barricades: "The Communists are to be blamed for this situation...." This was said by one of those who, in January, wanted to hang Trenchev and Beron. It turns out that the old saying is right: "One can fool all of the people some of the time and one can fool some of the people all of the time but one cannot fool all of the people all of the time."

Iraq Formally Asked To Guarantee Citizens Safety

LD0908203690 Prague CTK in English 1921 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Prague, 9 Aug (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Embassy in Baghdad has officially asked the Iraqi Government to provide guarantees of safety to Czechoslovak citizens in Iraq and Kuwait and enable them to return home, the Foreign Ministry said here today.

The same request was conveyed to the Iraqi ambassador in Prague.

The Czechoslovak embassies in Kuwait and Baghdad have announced that all Czechoslovak citizens are well, no one was injured or taken hostage. The embassy in Kuwait announced today that several Czechoslovak citizens asked for direct protection by the embassy and it was immediately provided.

The situation in the capital is relatively calm and the basic needs of the population are met.

'Crisis Team' Set Up for Nationals

LD0908220590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 2030 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] According to reports from the Czechoslovak Embassies in Kuwait and Baghdad, all Czechoslovak citizens are well and in regular daily contact with the embassy or trade representations. No one has been injured or detained. Today our embassy in Kuwait reported that several Czechoslovak citizens have requested direct protection by the embassy, which was provided immediately. The embassy reports that the situation in the capital is relatively calm, and the basic needs of the people are being met.

A Ministry of Foreign Affais crisis team, in cooperation with the appropriate bodies, is taking all measures necessary and available to insure the safety of Czechoslovak citizens and is negotiating the possibility of them returning to their country. The Iraqi Government has been officially asked to provide guarantees of safety for the Czechoslovak citizens in Kuwait and Iraq and to enable their return to Czechoslovakia. This request has also been conveyed to the ambassador of the Republic of Iraq in Prague.

Further on UN-Supported Sanctions Against Iraq

LD0908185590 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1800 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] On the basis of the UN Security Council resolution, the federal government Presidium decided to halt as of today [9 August] the export and import of all goods to and from Iraq and Kuwait, as well as all economic activities abroad linked to the export and import to and from these countries. This ban, valid until it is revoked, affects all the Czechoslovak organizations and private entrepreneurs authorized to carry out trade abroad.

'Public Against Violence' Condemns Invasion

LD0908222790 Prague CTK in English 2023 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Bratislava Aug 9 (CTK)—The Public Against Violence movement resolutely condemned the Iraqi troops' invasion of Kuwait and its annexation in a statement issued here today.

This act is at a sharp variance with the efforts of the world public at understanding and seriously violates the promising development of the effort at security and peace.

Representatives of the Public Against Violence condemned resolutely at a republic assembly on August 4, 1990 the Iraqi aggression against Kuwait, called for unconditional and immediate withdrawal of Iraqi troops from the country and demanded a solution of the political-economic crisis which occurred in consequence of the aggression, the statement said.

GDR's Eppelmann Meets With Vacek, Miklosko

LD0908181190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1450 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Excerpt] Prague (ADN)—Neither a future all-German Army nor membership of a united Germany in NATO represents a problem for the Czechoslovak side, GDR Defense Minister Rainer Eppelmann told ADN in Prague today. [passage omitted]

This afternoon Eppelmann held talks with his counterpart, Miroslav Vacek, who welcomed him today at the airport with military honors. Questions on the conversion of material and personnel in the two Armies, now taking place, occupied a large part of the talks. Eppelmann said the disarmament and reduction measures taking place in the National People's Army must be carried out in a socially and ecologically justifiable way. He suggested holding a joint seminar of experts of the two countries on this subject. Vacek responded positively to this proposal.

Vacek briefed his GDR guests on the new Czechoslovak military doctrine and on the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the CFSR. Then the GDR defense minister met with Deputy Premier Jozef Miklosko for talks. [passage omitted]

Concludes Visit; Departs

LD0908222390 Prague CTK in English 2046 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Prague Aug 9 (CTK)—GDR Minister of Disarmament and Defence Rainer Eppelmann met for talks with Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Jozef Miklosko today.

He informed the Czechoslovak representative of questions related to the process of unification of the two German states.

Both officials expressed the conviction that a solution would be found to current problems in economic cooperation between the two countries.

At a press conference, Rainer Eppelmann announced an agreement under which a group of the two countries' experts will be formed by next Septmeber to work out a list of problems to be solved jointly by Czechoslovakia and the GDR. It will concern mainly cooperation in the conversion and liquidation of weapons, the minister said.

The agreement on the group was also appreciated by Czechoslovak Defence Minister Army General Miroslav Vacek.

Asked about the expected changes in the GDR Army in connection with the unification of the two German states the minister said that the talks have not yet been concluded. Unified Germany will be a member of NATO but no regular forces of the Bundeswehr will be stationed between the Elbe and the Oder. The GDR Army will form the eastern group of the German Armed Forces. It will be headed by a state secretary and defence minister will be chief commander. Some 50,000-65,000 former GDR troops will become part of the all-German forces, Minister Eppelmann said.

Commenting on the present trade war between Czechoslovakia and the GDR Minister Eppelmann said that Czechoslovakia is fully entitled to be disappointed. he said he would report to the prime minister and "it would be bad from the political, economic and primarily moral points of view if solutions were not found to these problems."

The Czechoslovak defence minister appreciated his colleague's stand on the dramatic situation in trade between the two countries which arose during talks between trade ministers on Monday. He was therefore satisfied that in his talks with Rainer Eppelmann they wanted to change their methods of cooperation to balance their acconts and relations.

Minister Vacek also explained the Czechoslovak Government's stand on alleged fears from united Germany: "There is still part of the population in our republic which has bad experience from one and some perhaps from two world wars. It is important that most of the inhabitants are of a different opinion. They believe that the state which will arise after the unification of Germany will represent no danger to Europe. All of us, united Germany as well as its neighbours, must contribute to this," the Czechoslovak minister said.

In the evening, Rainer Eppelmann ended his one-day working visit, as he said certainly the only and last one as GDR disarmament and defence minister, and left for home. Minister Vacek saw him off.

GDR's Pohl Views Declining Trade With Prague

AU1008124090 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 8 Aug 90 p 5

[ADN report: "Trade Between GDR and CSFR in Deep Crisis"]

[Text] Prague—Talks with Prague held by Economics Minister Pohl have turned out to be as difficult as expected. Agreement was not achieved on all issues, Pohl told ADN after his talks with Foreign Trade Minister Slavomir Stracar and Deputy Economics Minister Vaclav Petricek. Pohl encouraged GDR enterprises to carefully check the offers of the CSFR industry. In the face of declining purchases by GDR enterprises in the neighbor country, as well as the increasing trade surplus with the CSFR, it cannot be ruled out that the CSFR Government will adopt measures against GDR imports. Recent figures show GDR enterprises have canceled contracts worth 230 million transferable rubles as a result of German-German monetary union. In addition, deals involving Ruble 175 million, which had been promised, did not materialize.

Foreign Trade Official on USSR, GDR Trade

AU1008091790 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 7 Aug 90 pp 1,4

[Interview with Boris Sterbak, director of the office of the foreign trade minister, by Petr Husak; place and date not given: "They Do Not Meet Their Obligations?"; first paragraph is SVOBODNE SLOVO introduction]

[Excerpts] Recent Moscow negotiations on important economic questions between the CSFR and the USSR have ended. Boris Sterbak, director of the office of the foreign trade minister, gave us an interview about the results drawn from the negotiations and about our trade relations with our largest trade partners. [passage omitted on Vladimir Dlouhy's negotiations in Moscow]

[Husak] You also negotiated with the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic's [RSFR] delegation. What is your impression?

[Sterbak] We talked with the deputy premier, Mr. Filshin. He is a modern-thinking economist. He outlined his idea about the RSFR's contacts with foreign countries. If we realize that the RSFR has about 150 million inhabitants and enormous natural resources (approximately 90 percent of Soviet crude oil), then, from this viewpoint, establishing ties with the RSFR is very promising. However, the RSFR does not yet have the necessary mechanism that would be needed for implementing an independent foreign trade policy. The rules of the game between the RSFR Government and the central Soviet government are not fixed. All this will be the subject of the next negotiations.

[Husak] What negotiations do you have in mind?

[Sterbak] RSFR experts will come to our country in August. We also expect a delegation at a higher level. Maybe Boris Yeltsin will also come.

[Husak] How much does the USSR owe us?

[Sterbak] The government's credit amounts to 2 billion convertible rubles; the so-called selected integrated projects amount to 2.4 billion convertible rubles. We expect an active 1990 balance of payments amounting to approximately 0.7 million [number as published] convertible rubles. Therefore, the rough estimate is 5 billion convertible rubles. To a large degree, the amount of our claims will be influenced by the exchange rate.

[Husak] How many rubles did the USSR offer for a dollar during the Moscow negotiations?

[Sterbak] No agreement on this subject has been made in Moscow. This is a very sensitive question. I do not want to make specific statements about it.

[Husak] How will the Soviet Union pay for our unfinished joint venture projects? Are we going to initiate new ones?

[Sterbak] The two biggest ones—Jamburg's gas line and the large Krivoj Rog ore processing plant—will be paid for by natural gas deliveries and processed iron ore. Other joint venture projects are not being considered.

[Husak] Apart from the Soviet Union, we are "fighting" with another large trade partner—the GDR....

[Sterbak] Yes, at this time we are experiencing significant problems with trade relations. While we are accepting goods to the agreed-upon amount (and even exceeding it by 6 percent), the GDR has unilaterally stopped accepting our goods. Many of the goods delivered were made according to GDR standards and specifications and can hardly be sold at other markets. Moreover, East Germans are now returning large sums of Czechoslovak koruna that they have drawn as an advance for financing the tourism to Czechoslovakia. We have already taken goods for this money. This situation further deepens the imbalance in the balance of payments with the GDR; this situation is very disadvantageous for us with respect to the future. This year trade is still being carried out in convertible rubles, but, no later than 1 January 1991 will convertible currency be used. We are constantly pointing out this situation to our GDR partners. Negotiation have been held at the deputy-ministerial level. Today, Mr. Pohl, GDR minister of economy, held talks with Minister Stracar. Let us see.

[Husak] Can we apply any sanctions against the GDR?

[Sterbak] Yes, but within the framework of valid agreements only—that is, according to the CEMA general conditions. The possibilities of claiming losses and applying penalties are, according to these conditions, limited. Our current experience tells us that negotiations on such a subject are complex and they miss the target.

[Husak] West German products are pushing the uncompetitive GDR products out of the GDR markets. Can we, too, expect that those products will come to our market (refrigerators, washing machines, small motorcycles)?

[Sterbak] When we conduct business in convertible currency, we will have a choice. We stick to the rule that it is better to buy more expensive, yet better quality products.

[Husak] In the transitional period, trade between CEMA countries should be conducted in the form of government orders....

[Sterbak] Yes, for a transitional period—from the planned trading in convertible rubles to the payments in hard currencies—we are interested in buying products (raw materials) that will be paid for by other products. During initial negotiations in the USSR, the so-called first basket was discussed. The Soviet side would provide us with raw materials, cotton, wood, ore, nonferrous metals, caoutchouc, flax, etc. We would pay with consumer products—furniture, textile, shoes, machine spare parts, machine-tools, commercial vehicles, etc. In connection with sanctions, penalties, and compensation for damages will be agreed upon. Despite this, we can get into a situation when, despite all the efforts made on both sides, trade with the USSR will not be simple. Maybe, we will not get the required minimum supply of crude oil. It can happen that, for a certain period, our northern neighbors will not be taking our goods in the manner they should. We are getting into a very problematic situation with our largest trading partners....

[Husak] Do you see any solution?

[Sterbak] Our enterprises must start producing convertible [word as published] goods for which the world will pay us with hard currency; such goods must be competitive at least on the European market. How long this will take is a question connected with the efficiency of the entire economic reform. Optimists speak of five to seven years. Our government's objective is to became an equal-right partner in the European Economic Community by the year 2000. That is the latest date by which all difficulties must be overcome.

[Husak] Or, the economic reform must be initiated sooner?

[Sterbak] We are facing the fact that in a year we will conduct trade within CEMA countries in hard currency. Changes carried out by our largest trading partners (the USSR, the GDR, and others) are one of the reasons why we cannot delay our economic reform.

Appeal to Gorbachev Over Soldier's Fate

AU0808135990 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 4 Aug 90 p 2

["Text" of "open letter to M. S. Gorbachev" from Jan Subert of ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY, Vladislav

Kvasnicka of Kratky Film, and Ivan Lamper of RESPEKT; place and date not given]

[Text] Dear Mr. President,

As Czechoslovak journalists and documentarians, we have been following the disciplined withdrawal of your Soviet Army from our territory with deep admiration. We have complete understanding for all the difficulties faced by your people; we are aware of their complicated social problems, and we discern mixed feelings for the Soviet soldiers who were not even born in August 1968. We believe that Soviet citizens will not have to think badly of their experience in Czechoslovakia. However, we feel that one incident has marred the traditionally good relations between the people of our countries. On 17 April 1990, Alexandr Vitalyevich Maslyayev, born on 21 January 1971, a soldier in the Central Group of Soviet Forces unit No. 41541, asked the CSFR authorities for asylum.

Our authorities, perhaps, adhered to the strict intergovernmental agreement or, possibly, past political forces were at work, but the soldier Alexandr Vitalyevich Maslyayev was handed back to representatives of the Central Group of Soviet Forces on 18 April 1990. Since that time we have heard no news of his fate. We only feel that the enormous trust which this young man placed in our people has been betrayed and trampled upon. We only know that Alexandr Vitalyevich Maslyayev's identification number was UM 00 42391 and that he lived in the Donetsk Oblast, Kramatorsk, Dvortsova 46.

We do not want actions well known from the past to triumph either in Czechoslovakia or in the Soviet Union over the trust of a historically unburdened generation or over people's fate. In our country we are now learning to respect the right to refuse military service and the right to individual self-determination. We are seeking a form of informal friendship between different peoples.

We turn to you as an adherent of profoundly human ideals and as a politician struggling against the mistakes of the past. We turn to you with a request to assist in renewing a Soviet citizen's lost faith in Czechs and Slovaks. If he has been punished, he is a prisoner not only of his own conscience, but—mainly—of our conscience.

The attitude of one Soviet citizen toward our people is, perhaps, symbolic. Therefore, esteemed Mr. President, we appeal for clemency for him and for the opportunity to have a personal meeting with him. With your help we would like by at least a symbolic apology to contribute to the renewal of mutual trust and to the triumph of human freedom over the lingering shadows of the past. [Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 7 August on page 8 carries the following "Report on the Fate of a Soldier:"

Alexandr Udaltsov, a councillor at the Soviet Embassy in Prague, with reference to the Central Group of Soviet Forces command, has informed CTK that the Soviet soldier Alexandr Maslyayev, who asked for political asylum in Czechoslovakia and was handed over to representatives of the Soviet Army, is currently serving in the Turkistan military district in the USSR. For his misdemeanor—deliberately leaving his unit—he was, allegedly, sentenced to 10 days in a military prison. Concern about his fate is, therefore, unnecessary, states A. Udaltsov.]

Vacek Continues Response to Army Criticism

AU0908105290 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 2 Aug 90 p 3

[Second installment of a three-part interview with Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek by Jan Subert; place and date not given: "The Interrogation of the Defense Minister"]

[Text] [Subert] A certain distrust ensues from the fact that, for example, no one has yet told the public what was going on in the Army shortly after 17 November. Our editorial office has reliable reports that some commanders were inclined to adopt the so-called Chinese solution. On 20 November, for example, some units received a telex containing instructions, according to which a state of emergency, related to the entry of the Army into Prague, was about to be declared....

[Vacek] Maybe, we have made a mistake. It seemed to us that is was unnecessary to revive and to dramatize those things. Yes, there were such tendencies in some commanding staffs during the revolutionary period. This was due to the fact that the November events were judged differently at different levels of the command. The most essential thing is, however, and it is necessary to emphasize it, that the Army was not misused.

[Subert] By mid-December some military printing shops were grossly attacking students and civic initiatives....

[Vacek] I accept the criticism and, if you want, I can nail it down that such information was disseminated, for example, by the printing shop in the tank division in Slanske and by the journal of the West Military District. Mr. Havel drew my attention to this at our meeting in Obecni Dum in Prague around 10 December. In all cases where there was a possibility of misusing the military journals, I ordered a halt to publishing immediately. However, in order to remain objective, it is necessary to say that it was not just military journals which were attacking the students and the dissidents.

[Subert] From the recent declaration made by the Civic Forum Coordinating Center, it can be felt that the commanders who organized all this still remain in their positions. This declaration also says that apart from partial changes, the Army has not made any personal or structural changes. Sometimes voices can be heard that the Army should proceed in the same way as the Ministry of Interior did....

[Vacek] The analogy with the Ministry of Interior—exactly speaking, the analogy with the former State

Security—is justified to a certain degree only in the case of Military Intelligence, where we have already carried out the basic restructuring. Every reasonable man must admit that the Army has not carried out any reprisals against the civilians, and, therefore, it cannot be compared to the State Security. Yes, the Army was servile to the former political regime, as everyone else was.

With respect to Civic Forum's declaration, I am convinced that the Civic Forum's Military Commission does not have enough information about what is happening in the Army. Unfortunately, I have to say that there are some people in this commission who were very unobjective from the very beginning.

[Subert] What is the truth, then? The Civic Forum Military Commission specifically reproaches you that the Main Political Administration was dissolved, yet 60 percent of its officials were transferred to the Administration of Education and Culture.

[Vacek] All professional soldiers have to pass the screening process, the subject of which will be their professionalism and moral qualities. In case of the Military Intelligence—where a compromising past is expected— and in the case of the personnel of educational and cultural organs—where a great deal of former political workers are concentrated—the composition of screening commissions have been completed by the members of the Military Revival movement. Verbally, any soldier in any unit can say what he does not like and he can have professional or personal objections against his commander. The screening commission is obliged to deal with any criticism and draw conclusions from it.

As far as the remaining officers of the former political apparatus are concerned, their average age is 34. Therefore, they cannot be compromised. Apart from Marxism, they studied other scientific subjects at military schools, and they have a fairly good knowledge of them. Therefore, it seems that nothing can prevent them from being good educational and cultural workers.

[Subert] How may people had to leave the Army due to screening?

[Vacek] We do not have final figure yet, but as soon as we have it, I will publish the number of those having been released from the service.

[Subert] Some 21,000 professional soldiers have left the service voluntarily. Those who criticize the Army say that progressive young men are leaving the Army, that they refuse to serve under the old guard....

[Vacek] If there are progressive young men among them who are leaving us, then they should, I believe, stay with us and help us. It seems that the reality is slightly different, however. I asked a few commanders how many officers had left the service. The answer was—about twenty. When I asked how many of them they would prefer to have stayed, they said—four or five people. I would rather believe that we are losing the people who did not represent the Army well, including individuals who abuse the possibility of leaving the Army without the need to pay the expenses. And, believe me, there is nothing worse than if a soldier meets his commander, who is an alcoholic, or a lieutenant or captain who is silly. This has the result that all officers are labeled as stupid. My greatest wish—and a basis for the democratization—is to be able to work with officers who want to stay in the Army and who have knowledge and skills.

Further on Vacek Response

AU1008084390 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 3 Aug 90 p 3

[Third installment of a three-part interview with Defense Minister Miroslav Vacek by Jan Subert; place and date not given: "The Interrogation of the Defense Minister"]

[Text] [Subert] In the public and in parliament there are stronger and stronger voices demanding that our Army be subordinated to an independent supervisory organ. A General Inspectorate of the Armed Forces is being considered. What is your opinion, Mr. Minister?

[Vacek] I would not mind a General Inspectorate. Yet, on the other hand, the way it is conceived would mean that the supreme commander's jurisdiction, that is the president's jurisdiction, would be significantly restricted. It is also worth mentioning that in other countries the General Inspectorate is subordinated to the defense minister. I do not want to say that I am against control over the Army. On the contrary. I think, however, that the supervisory role could by played by the existing parliament's Defense and Security Committee. I believe that it would be more effective to extend the deputies' jurisdiction than to create a new institution.

[Subert] Major General Gavlas, whom you entrusted with managing the Administration of the Protection of Czechoslovak Army—this means, including the newly created Military Defense Intelligence—said in his interview with CTK that the interest of foreign intelligence in our Army is growing. We no longer consider Western countries as being our enemies. Who is interested in our Army then?

[Vacek] I know that it sounds paradoxical, but the activity of Western intelligence agencies has not slackened. We know exactly who is more active and we know what the spheres of their interest are. The endeavor made by intelligence services to acquire as much information as possible is caused by our location in the middle of Europe, by the fact that we will neighbor with a united Germany, and by the fact that our Army is undergoing many changes.

[Subert] In connection with the insensitive interference with nature—as reported by the weekly RESPECT—you and the president recently visited the antiaircraft defense unit on the peaks of the Brdy mountains. The "Chrouzava" radar and rocket technology is vitally

important for the defense of Prague in the event of an attack from the West. Does "Chrouzava" still have any raison d'etre?

[Vacek] Above all, I have to say that "Chrouzava" does not serve exclusively as the defense against an attack from the West. The firing ramps can be easily turned into any direction. If we want to guarantee the sovereignty of the state and if we speak of a defensive rather than an offensive doctrine, we have to consider antiaircraft defense as being very important and as having potential, we have to maintain it and modernize it. No one can tell today what the situation in Europe will look like in 2010 or in 2015. In case of need such a project cannot be built within five or six years.

[Subert] During March, our newspaper tried to disentangle the mystery surrounding the unexplained military activity near Mednik. Can you draw a line under this mystery?

[Vacek] A longer time ago, some information appeared indicating that the area around Mednik might hide something. Some indicated that trophy weapons [trofejni munice] were involved, some spoke of highly effective explosives, others that a part of the Stechovice archive [Nazi wartime archive] or the results achieved by the German nuclear physicist, Hahn, were involved. The information was supposed to be verified by the Ministry of Interior, but, since it did not have the necessary means, the Army was engaged. We have found nothing, however, and we are hesitating about whether we should continue searching.

Maybe, we could have done more, but the protests and resistance of the local population stopped us. I can tell you categorically tell you that the Army is no longer active at Mednik. I also declare that we have never brought or stored any chemicals at this place. This is absolute nonsense.

[Subert] The Soviet Army Unit about which various myths circulated has left the As region—it is worth noting that they left things in exemplary order behind them and no damage. It was said about this unit that it was some kind of special unit or intelligence service which was under the direct control of the KGB. Is it true?

[Vacek] No. It was a military reconnaissance unit composed of highly qualified specialists and was equipped with special monitoring technology.

[Subert] Can you tell us, nevertheless, whether KGB units are working within the Soviet troops deployed on our territory?

[Vacek] You do not have to believe me, but I have no idea how the KGB works within the structure of the Soviet Armed Forces. Yet, I can tell you that the KGB is not working within our Army.

[Subert] Let as talk about something completely different. The public positively appreciated the promptness and the understanding with which the Army reacted to the gasoline shock. Nevertheless, the opinion persists that military technology remains a big consumer of fuel.

[Vacek] See for yourself: In recent years consumption in the civilian sector rose by 30 percent, while it declined by 30 percent in the military sector. From the annual volume of nationwide consumption, we account for only 0.87 percent of gasoline and 1.22 percent of diesel fuel. Irrespective of this, we agreed to free from the federal material reserves 25,000 tonnes of gasoline by the end of last year, 25,000 tonnes of gasoline in July of this year, and another 15,000 tonnes of gasoline after the price increase.

Besides this—as it has already been reported—we restrict the operation of our military technology to fulfillment of the most important tasks only. One more thing: While an American pilot flies at least 270 hours per year, our pilot has to be content with the maximum of 70 hours of flying.

[Subert] In this connection, it would be good to notify the farmers that they cannot count with your help, which was uneconomical also from other points of view....

[Vacek] The newly adopted amendment to the military law does not allow this. This does not affect only farmers. Our help at nuclear power plant construction sites, where some 3,000 soldiers worked, has also ended. Sometimes this situation went so far that the Local National Committee chairmen requested that we give them six drivers from the Army for distributing pastry because their drivers had taken their holidays.

[Subert] The very last question. Do you have any idea how long it will take for our Army to get professionalized and when the standards of the developed countries will be approached in this respect?

[Vacek] At this time, about 30 percent of the soldiers in our Army are professional. With the anticipated reduction of Army troops by 60,000 men—mostly soldiers doing basic military service—we can expect that, in 1995, we will reach the level of the Bundeswehr, 50 percent of which are professionals. By that time, we would like to have the length of military service cut to 12 months. At the same time, we have to anticipate that, due to the salaries and soldier's pay, the costs of the Army will rise by 2.5 billion korunas.

We can come near to a full professionalization by having 75 percent of professionals—as in the United States or Great Britain—in the year 2000. In the year 2000, basic military service could have the function of preventive education and could last three months.

[Subert] Mr. Minister, thank you for your answers and the interesting information.

Federal-Republican 9 Aug Meeting Reported

LD0908184990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1506 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Petr Toman report on meeting between the federal and republican governments in Trencianske Teplice on 9 Aug]

[Text] The participants in the consultative meeting reached a decision on how to carry out the central idea of the program statements of all three governments—only strong national republics will form a strong federation. They discussed the best ways for our common state to function, as well as the specifics of the executive powers of the federation and republics.

The participants also reached, as the communique says, a joint proposal that the federal government should exercise those functions which are inseparable from it in a modern state, and which at the same time correspond to harmonization of the principle of a republic's own identity on the one hand, and Czechoslovak reciprocity on the other. This concerns above all the questions of defense, protection of the state borders, forming of the norms proceeding from the need for a unified legal establishment in the principal legal spheres—such as a civic code, commercial code, penal code, and regulations—a unified currency, and the issuing system, unified international policy, representation of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic in international organizations, and the strategy of integration processes with regard to foreign countries.

The federal government should also be responsible for the regulation of our common market and workforce, taxation, pricing, and customs policy, as well as some common issues concerning the environment. Even in the sphere where individual ministries of the federal government—for example of transport and communications—have previously been functioning, there will be a new definition of the jurisdiction on federal and national levels, so that only a necessary execution of state administration and specialized overseeing would be carried out on the federal level. Investigations of all serious criminal offenses—such as terrorism, drugs, currency protection—as well as representation of our federative republic in Interpol. A joint databank, passport services management, aliens office, and so on should remain under the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of the Interior.

If the market economy does not render ministerial management superfluous, this management should belong under the jurisdiction of national governments. In order to be able to switch the economy to a market mechanism, all three governments need certain conditions and free hands, and they cannot waste their time and efforts by holding unnecessary arguments over issues of power, which threatens state unity.

The participants in the consultation proposed establishing specialized commissions consisting of representatives of the federal and national governments. The commissions will work out proposals by the end of August 1990 on the problem areas of jurisdiction. The participants in the consultation reached agreement on budgetary regulations. The proposed concept rules out any redistribution of the budgets. The budget of the federation should be formed and agreed in advance on the basis of contributions from taxes, and not on the basis of levies paid by national republics.

The representatives of the federal and national governments regard the drafting and acceptance of the new democratic constitutions as the most important task in the immediate period. However, before adopting the constitution they regard the adoption of a constitutional document in the form of a charter of human rights and freedoms, which would represent an expression of the common will of the Federal Assembly and the Czech and Slovak National Councils, as a decisive step toward integrating the common homeland of Czechs and Slovaks on their joint path into Europe. The participants agreed that the adoption of the proposed principles will not weaken our common federation, but that the federation will, on the contrary, strengthen its authentic form.

The ideas contained in the final communique were paraphrased at a meeting with reporters by Federal Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky. Then Vladimir Meciar and Petr Pithart, the premiers of the republican governments, added to those ideas when they answered questions posed by reporters.

[Begin recording] [Meciar in Slovak] The talks which took place here were called on the initiative of the federal bodies, but you know that the Government of the Slovak Republic has been working on an initiative for some time now to have these relations resolved. It made suggestions on a number of the issues and problems some time earlier, and because the pressure from your side was growing, a realistic and timely response was sought.

In essence, we reached a number of conclusions. First, we acknowledged today the priority of the republics, from which the federation derives its jurisdiction and powers, and this is the principle by which we evaluate the federation today—what does it do for us, what services does it carry out for the republics, in what ways is it useful, and in what ways not? Second, we expressed interest in retaining the state bond of Czechs and Slovaks, and we do not intend to break it. We did not resolve the issues of a confederation and so forth, even though we did discuss relations of this kind, because for our existing system and for the system of international relations a confederation is not acceptable, even though some people in Slovakia are advising this, but by a thorough analysis this is the conclusion we reached.

Third, from the viewpoint of the time frame, you know that we said that all powers should pass to the republican governments within two years. Above all, we bore in mind the national viewpoint, the economic viewpoint, and others. Today we modified it in such a way that

everything should happen by 1 January 1991. This is a new change, but whether it takes place will depend on the deputies assemblies. Of course, we have prepared documents for discussion in other working groups and positions for discussion by the political parties and parliament, and of course the president must also express his view on many of the questions, because they are within his purview.

That is why we came to Trencianske Teplice, where we wanted to be more isolated so as to have time for a normal constructive exchange of views. As far as the exchange of views is concerned, of course, whenever you sail in uncharted waters there are bound to be differing opinions. The views were expressed in a proper way, with the aim of seeking jointly acceptable positions, and those are what we found. It is still important for them to be accepted and recognized by the other bodies, which will then put in hand the organizational and legislative changes, and which will have an immense impact on the whole system of government in Czechoslovakia. We also take the view that we have not dismantled the federation; we are taking it forward into new areas in which it has not yet accomplished tasks.

[Pithart] Perhaps you are asking how are our external economic difficulties and the introduction of economic reform were linked to the subject of our talks?

In our view the link is very substantial. All the governments—all three governments—must have totally free hands in order to concentrate fully on economic reform. And we feared that in the future the number of power conflicts would increase and they would tie our hands—the hands of all the governments, I would like to emphasize.

That is why we attempted to clarify these questions as much as possible. And we think that these power conflicts could be totally avoided in future. [end recording]

Czech, Slovak Ministers View Talks

LD0908202590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Excerpts] [Unidentified announcer] Two days of talks between the premiers of our two republican governments were held in Trencianske Teplice behind closed doors, and, therefore, provoked great interest. Marian Calfa, premier of the federal government, also attended the meeting. The talks dealt with, above all, the definition of the powers of republican governments. [passage omitted] A news conference was held following the talks. We have chosen a view by Federal Government Deputy Premier Pavel Rychetsky from among many views voiced there.

[Begin Rychetsky recording] The two-day meeting was convened at the initiative of the Federal Government because we felt it totally necessary to tackle fundamental questions before they become questions which could divide our nations. The communique that we have issued shows none of us assumes the powers which are not his. The legislative bodies must have the last and final word and, before that, we have to discuss the results of our talks with all our political partners in the coalition. [end recording]

[Announcer] The Slovak Government was greatly interested in the success of the talks. Here is an answer by Slovak Government Premier Vladimir Meciar to several questions, including an interesting one on why the talks were held behind closed doors and why journalists were not allowed in:

[Begin Meciar recording] These were normal working talks, and, as such, they included expressing concepts, views, and stances. In the period when these views are only in the stage of being worked out, the publication of the stances makes them official information which is binding on the participants. Therefore, the failure to publish them in fact does not mean keeping deliberations secret, but creating space in order to achieve a common conclusion more easily. [passage omitted] [end recording]

People's Party on Economic, Political Problems

AU0908125390 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech 4 Aug 90 p 1

["(ACH)"-signed report: "Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee Standpoint"]

[Text] On 2 August the Czechoslovak People's Party Central Committee adopted the following standpoint toward the economic and political problems:

1. The method of transforming state enterprises into joint stock companies through shares distributed to the public threatens with economic collapse. In order to avoid the sellout of national property, the Presidium supports the method in which the shareholders are made up of employees, municipalities, and the state.

2. The Presidium of the Central Committee supports the demand made by the Confederation of Political Prisoners that the fight against the communist totalitarian regime, as well as its victims, be recognized as the third wave of resistance and, as such, be granted the same status as the resistance during World War I and World War II.

3. The Presidium of the Central Committee does not agree with solving the beef problem by increasing its price and recommends that, apart from reducing its retail price, the surplus meat be frozen for later use.

Calfa on Need for Expansion of Nuclear Program

AU0908162790 Vienna KURIER in German 9 Aug 90 p 5

[Interview with Premier Marian Calfa by Jana Patsch; place and date not given: "We Continue To Push Ahead Nuclear Power"]

[Text] [Patsch] What will happen if the experts' opinion on the Bohunice nuclear plant is negative?

[Calfa] If the majority of the experts decide against Bohunice, we will close it down. Or do the Austrians really believe that the CSFR Government is so irresponsible that it would endanger its own population? The patronizing behavior across the border seems to me to be a misjudgment of the qualities of the CSFR leadership. I repeat: If I get a signal that Bohunice is dangerous, we will close it down in our own best interest.

[Patsch] So far you have not received such signals?

[Calfa] No! Our nuclear experts have repeatedly assured me that the two units are safer than they were in 1977, when they where put into operation. For 13 years we have steadily added equipment. Now I tell you something else: How would the Austrians react if a CSFR minister suddenly turned up at an enterprise with journalists and television cameras and claimed that this company is a danger to the CSFR?

[Patsch] Had Environment Minister Marilies Flemming not been invited?

[Calfa] As far as I know she invited herself. However, I discussed everything with Chancellor Vranitzky in a sensible manner, and he understands our problems.

[Patsch] Has the chancellor offered you help?

[Calfa] Mr. Vranitzky has offered us the delivery of electricity for any potential shortfalls during the examination of the reactor....

[Patsch] Deliveries for free?

[Calfa] Allegedly yes. However—just on the side—it is technically impossible to transport the electricity that Austria has offered to the CSFR because of different voltage and nonexistent lines. I am not sure whether the Austrian engineers did not perhaps know this before the offer was made.

[Patsch] Have you not also been offered energy-saving technology?

[Calfa] This would be very welcome. We had hardly expressed interest and asked how this technology could be financed, when we received the answer: We would be given loans with conditions in accordance with standard banking practices—conditions which we could obtain anywhere in the world; this is not a special contribution from Austria.

[Patsch] Thus, the energy-saving measures are again receding into the background?

[Calfa] At the moment, 65 percent of our energy comes from brown coal. What this means for the environment can be seen by everyone in northern Bohemia. I am seriously thinking of inviting all critics of our energy policy to stay in such a region. Therefore, we continue to push ahead in nuclear energy—to be able to close down the thermal power plants. As sorry as I am, in the future we will not be able to afford any electricity exports anymore. This will also affect Austria.

[Patsch] The reduction of oil deliveries from the USSR has put an additional strain on your existing problems with energy....

[Calfa] Quite right. Although we can activate the Adriatic pipeline, we do not have any foreign currency to buy crude oil on the world market. We can pay only with machines or industrial products. We made down payments in this way in Iraq; now we have the boycott ruled by the UN Security Council. We want to, and we will, join this boycott, but it hurts us very much in economic terms.

Cejka on 'Extraparliamentary' Assembly's Function

AU1008064390 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Aug 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Extraparliamentary Assembly Chairman Cestmir Cejka by Jan Bauer; place and date not given: "A Beneficial Game of Parliament"]

[Text] Last Monday [30 July] some of the parties which did not win the necessary five percent of the vote established an Extraparliamentary Assembly. This act caused a minor storm on the internal political scene. Cestmir Cejka, the Assembly's chairman, was even expelled from the Czechoslovak Socialist Party. Therefore, our first question was: Is your expulsion really connected with your new post?

[Cejka] I honestly do not know. The Czechoslovak Socialist Party Central Committee Presidium has not officially informed me why I was expelled. However, it seems from the official statement that apparently I exceeded my authority by participating in the establishment of the Extraparliamentary Assembly and even by accepting its chairmanship. Of course, the question is: To what extent is this the main reason for my expulsion. I am a rather prominent figure in the National Socialist Assembly, that is, in the group that is trying to renew the National Socialist Party; I would consider this to be a much more important reason for my expulsion.

[Bauer] The Czechoslovak Social Democratic Party has reacted rather negatively to the Extraparliamentary Assembly. What do you think about this?

[Cejka] Not even we assumed that we would meet with an unequivocally positive response from all the parties not participating in the work of the legislative organs. Rather, we thought that some of them would participate as observers. Evidently, the Social Democratic Party wants to play its own political role. But after certain initial discussions, I am of the opinion that this party will at least become an observer in order to find out what exactly is happening and will not give up the idea of holding on to the approximately 20 mandates it has in

the Extraparliamentary Assembly. The current attitude adopted by the Social Democratic Party leadership excludes its active participation, but not its indirect cooperation.

[Bauer] What is the Slovak parties' point of view?

[Cejka] The situation is a little different in Slovakia because the overwhelming majority of parties is represented due to the lower percentage in the Slovak National Council. Despite this, we have attempted to make certain contacts, and it seems that our assembly's activity will be interesting to the Slovak parties. However, its activity will be perceived a little differently than in the Czech lands because the Slovaks have a different view on the state arrangement than the one prevailing in Prague. I think it is necessary to respect their confederative stance. We want to be in contact with them in view of the fact that neglecting their points of view and wishes—particularly of the smaller parties—could, under certain circumstances, threaten the stability of the current Czechoslovak Federation.

[Bauer] Do you want to be in opposition to parliament?

[Cejka] It is not only that we do not want to, we cannot. Therefore, we do not have "opposition" in our name, but "extraparliamentary." But the fact that we are not represented in parliament deprives us of our obligation toward those voters who gave our parties their vote. Our aim is to work more or less in tandem with the elected organs for a single purpose—to ensure a lasting democracy and lasting freedom in this state. After 40 years of the former regime, we have all become used to viewing politics like a bureaucratic organization. It was a power that was necessary to obey, because whoever did not obey it bore the consequences. Therefore, an absolute vacuum developed in political erudition and people stopped thinking and acting politically. This is essential in the most supreme state organs. Those who represent others here have to be aware of the broader context of the proposals submitted and have to consider them in this broader context.

To date, no one has managed to do this very well and, therefore, proceedings in the chambers sometimes seem rather embarrassing, if not downright comical. If those who have now been removed from political life get into the chambers within two years after the new elections, the same ridiculous situation could repeat itself. We want to avoid this; therefore, we are organizing the Extraparliamentary Assembly in accordance with the ethics and principles valid in the legislative organs so that those who work here can understand from the very beginning how they are supposed to conduct themselves in parliament.

GERMAN UNIFICATION

Notice to Readers: *In order to provide information concerning German unification in one location for the benefit of our readers, material on that topic from the FRG, GDR, and other media is now being published in the German Unification Attachment to the West Europe DAILY REPORT.*

'Arms Dealing' With Soviet Troops Broken Up

LD0908190990 Hamburg DPA in German 1820 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (DPA)—Extensive illegal arms dealing between Soviet soldiers based in the GDR and dealers in militaria has been broken up in West Berlin. In house searches in Tempelhof and Kreuzberg, the police confiscated weapons—some of them loaded—and ammunition—some of it live—as well as considerable amounts of explosives. Some of the items came from Soviet Army arsenals, Police President Georg Schertz said this evening on SFB's [expansion unknown] regional broadcast "Berliner Abendschau." The allies have been informed.

Three men were arrested in connection with the illegal arms dealing. A warrant had been issued for their arrest.

In one of the suspect's residence, the officers found four grenade launchers, 142 grenades of various calibre, and hand grenades. Apart from this they confiscated around 10,000 rounds of ammunition and around five kilos of explosives. Six so-called offensive hand grenades, some of them of Russian origin, with their component detonators were found by the officers in another residence. Apart from this they confiscated 50 kilos of explosives, a bazooka, various calibre ammunition, and various military accessories.

Honecker, Mielke Questioned on Border Controls

LD1008124690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1141 GMT 10 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Ex-head of state Erich Honecker and former Minister for State Security Erich Mielke were interrogated today by representatives of the Prosecutor General's Office. Dr. Peter Przybylski, press spokesman of the GDR Prosecutor General's Office, announced that this had been facilitated following an assessment of the "reports by a panel of doctors on the crimes of suspected members of the former party and state leadership of the GDR."

It was put to Honecker, the former State Council chairman and chairman of the National Defense council, that the pending investigative proceedings against him have been widened to include suspicion of homicide and grievous bodily harm. The additional allegations are based on Honecker's responsibility for the regime established since 1961 on the state border with the FRG and Berlin (West), particularly with regard to the regulations in violation of international law, which stipulated the use of firearms, mines, and automatic firing devices.

Mielke Letter Reveals Security-Police Links

AU0908214090 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 7 Aug 90 p 3

[Jan von Flocken, Erwin Jurtschitsch report: "'Variable Use' of People's Police"]

[Text] Asked about possible links between the Ministry for State Security [MfS] and the People's Police in an interview by DER MORGEN last week, Interior Minister Diestel described this question as "unfair and incorrect." One cannot simply claim that these two organizations are identical, he pointed out. In 1974, the chief of the Stasi state security system, Erich Mielke, personally signed a secret instruction that furnishes evidence of the close cooperation between the MfS and the German People's Police.

When the GDR was diplomatically acknowledged by all important states in 1974, and when numerous embassies were installed in East Berlin, the MfS had to take over "complicated new political-operational tasks." It was no longer possible to maintain the hermetic closure of the GDR because Western diplomats and journalists entered the country, and with them the much-feared ideas of the class enemy.

To prevent the population from such contacts, Mielke issued an order on 12 September 1974, the classified document 008-639/74 on the "political-operational protection of the missions of foreign states, bilateral and international organizations, privileged persons, and correspondents." This Mielke order contained some shocking details on the "current limited observation of persons." This included among other things, observation during shopping, the "conspiratorial search of land, apartments, cars, and containers," and the "use of varied and fancy means of disguise, such as cosmetics, wigs, clothes, and other accessories."

The tasks of the People's Police were described in three passages of the 19-page instruction. Particular attention was devoted to the guards of embassies and consulates in the area of the police headquarters of Berlin, Potsdam, Rostock, Leipzig, and Karl-Marx-Stadt. They had to participate in operational observation from "multipurpose and artificially covered locations." Moreover, Mielke also demanded the "variable use of tested forces.... of the traffic police and police, as well as of the customs authorities for the solution of parts of the tasks of operational observation."

The Main Administration VII (Defense) in the MfS selected suitable policemen, "who could be used as guards or patrolling policemen for the protection of foreign missions, as members of the traffic police and police... by the Main Administrations VIII (Observation/investigation) and II (Counterespionage)." For their spying activities the state security people used the People's Police's "wire-based information system of the guard command for the protection of the missions." Moreover, Mielke ordered the "further development and use of the information files of

the German People's Police." Parts of the People's Police deliberately participated in conspiratorial actions against foreign embassies. This went as far as uncovering "amorous relationships, as well as operationally interesting relations, contacts, and sources."

The ordinary patrolling policeman of a small town was certainly not involved in such activities by the MfS. Nevertheless, the question arises as to what extent the People's Police got rid of people, some of whom were infiltrated into their positions directly from the state security, who for many years spied on GDR citizens and foreigners. It seems rather the reverse, because since the middle of June 506 former state security staff found new jobs with the East Berlin police. According to East Berlin Police President Bachmann these are people "whose only job was to turn the traffic lights to green whenever protocol cars were approaching."

It is certain that the police staff of the MfS also included officers in special deployment (OibE). According to information obtained by DER MORGEN, one of them continues to be in a leading position in the Interior Ministry. The existence of black Stasi sheep might seriously strain the talks on the future employment of members of the People's Police in an all-German police force. West Berlin's Interior Senator Paetzold has recently stressed that in a democratic police force there is no room for people who "without contradiction executed inhuman orders given by a senile party leadership."

Poison Gas Said Not Responsible for Diseases

AU1008113090 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 8 Aug 90

[L. Schnedelbách report: "No Poison Gas"]

[Excerpt] Jena—Specialists of the Chemical Services of the National People's Army took soil and water samples in the Klengeler forest near Hermsdorfer Kreuz yesterday and examined them on the spot for traces of chemical warfare agents. The samples revealed that such chemicals do not exist in this area. Insecticides made of phosphor esters were not discovered either. However, there will be no 100-percent certainty until a thorough analysis is completed next week, Colonel Ralf Buettner, head of the Chemical Services in the Ministry for Disarmament and Defense, told journalist from the East and West. The special examinations had become necessary when a Thuringia daily reported mysterious diseases in three villages in the Hermsdorfer Kreuz area. [passage omitted]

Custody 'Unavoidable' for FDGB's Tisch

LD1008100890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0839 GMT 10 Aug 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—An appeal against remand in custody by the former FDGB [Free German Trade Union Federation] chairman, Harry Tisch, has been turned down as unwarranted by the GDR Supreme Court. Tisch will thus remain in custody, the Berlin city court announced today.

The statement says: "According to the medical certificate and the additional medical advice taken, poor health will not prevent detention, therefore, on the grounds of the gravity of the criminal offenses, custody is unavoidable." The statement adds that there was "sufficient evidence" that Tisch had committed abuse of confidence and a serious case of embezzlement.

The arrest warrant was issued by the Berlin city court on 20 July on the instructions of the GDR General Prosecutor's office.

Proposed Arms Quotas Viewed as 'Unacceptable'

LD0908195590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1900 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] The armament and armed forces quotas proposed for the East European countries at the Vienna talks are viewed by Hungary as unacceptable. This view was expressed by Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky at the talks on the reduction of European conventional forces that are being conducted in Vienna. The Foreign Minister stressed that our country is ready to cooperate with the member states of the Warsaw Pact until the agreement on arms reduction is worked out—an agreement which should be worked out as soon as possible. However, in his opinion, due to the breakup of the Eastern defense system, this cooperation is of a temporary nature.

General Interviewed on Status of Soviet Pullout

LD0908230790 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1840 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Excerpts] [Unidentifed announcer] The official name was not a lie after all: The Soviet troops have indeed been temporarily stationed in Hungary. By this time next year, none of the 100,000 troops and their families will be here, nor will the 860 tanks; the missile launching pads and cannons will be gone; there will be no Soviet fighter bombers and no helicopters. The soldiers are saying good-bye. [passage omitted]

Originally, we expected to have with us, here in the studio of "News Background," Colonel General Matvey Burlakov, commander of the Southern Army Group, the Soviet Government's commissioner. However, Mr. Burlakov was unable to be here, which we very much regret. [passage omitted] Let us then begin our conversation with Lieutenant General Antal Annus, administrative state secretary of the Defense Ministry, government commissioner for the troop withdrawal. [passage omitted]

I think we are all very aware that this is a politically significant matter, but let us deal rather with settling the accounts. [passage omitted]

The agreement reached in March of 1989, I believe, must have been the result of a bargain or a compromise. The reason I bring this up is because I find it strange that, at that time, the Soviets did not come up with this 50 billion forint demand; they came up with the demand after the troop withdrawal had started. What could be the reason for this?

[Annus] I think it is natural that this particular issue was not on the discussion agenda. At that time, very hard work was under way in the interest, on the Hungarian side, that the deadline for withdrawal should be as early as possible; and, on the Soviet side, in the interest that it should be as far away as possible, giving the various difficulties as a reason.

[Announcer] What reason did they give in the case of this 50 billion? In other words, what is the reason for this enormous sum, according to them? And with what do we disagree?

[Annus] According to the Soviets, the basis of their 50 billion forint demand is that this is the amount of money they have spent on various investments since they have been in Hungary. [passage omitted] We must, and we shall, examine this demand very thoroughly. According to our reliable information, in a scrutinizable manner, they have spent 10.5 billion forints on investments; this is only a portion of the 50 billion.

[Announcer] Forgive me, but how can you say this so exactly? According to my information, the Soviets have allowed the Hungarians only a preliminary survey, which is far from a normal assessment; let us say it is more of a professional assessment.

[Annus] The reason we are so sure of the amount—this 10.5 billion— is because this money was used for investment purposes along official channels, from Soviet financial resources. [passage omitted] They spent the rest of the money on so-called unauthorized construction. [passage omitted] Some of these buildings were built exclusively for military use.

[Announcer] Can we not use the buildings?

[Annus] We can make absolutely no use whatsoever of some of them.

[Announcer] Why not?

[Annus] I will give you an example. In May we took over the former Soviet military airport in Debrecen and, at this airport, for instance, there are several dozen bomb-proof aircraft shelters, and similar ones exist at the others, too. We can make no practical use of these buildings, and their installation cost was 500,000 rubles each. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] We have said nothing yet about environmental pollution. We have read that we will have to pay enormous amounts for detoxification on and around the Soviet practice grounds and barracks. This, too, will have to be calculated. I imagine we are calculating this, but this is not a certainty.

[Annus] Yes. Now I think that they, too, will begin to reckon with this. After all, notice must be taken of the fact that quite a lot of damage has been done to the environment—particularly by fuel pollution. Nevertheless, masses of unexploded ammunition, explosives, and other dangerous, health-hazardous wastes can be found on the artillery grounds. This will constitute a very significant item in the Hungarian claims, which we would like to assert in the settling of accounts. [passage omitted]

[Announcer] I cannot avoid thinking that, perhaps, at the negotiations, one factor that could be raised is that compensation would also be due, on the basis of international

law, for the deportees, the [word indistinct] the compulsory labor camps. Or, perhaps this is a topic that is not suitable for discussion at the negotiating table, in this circle, and at this time?

[Annus] I think it is fitting—and it is necessary—to talk about everything that is awaiting settlement; this includes items in connection with the Soviet troop withdrawal.

[Announcer] I did not mean here among ourselves, but there, in the course of the negotiations.

[Annus] I understand, and that is what I meant, too. There, between ourselves, the negotiating sides. And I think that this connection, too, which you have mentioned, has to be thoroughly considered, because this is also unsettled at the moment; in all events it has to be raised.

[Announcer] As for the atmosphere—or tone—of the negotiations, that, too, would interest me. For example, it would interest me that the officer—chief officer, general, expert—of a sovereign Hungarian Army, to my mind, would negotiate in a different manner than if he represented an army that is not entirely independent—moreover, not at all independent—of the partner with whom he would like to agree—with whom he has a dispute—and he would like to conclude this debate in a correct manner, according to the rules of the law.

[Annus] Yes, it was very interesting to live through these negotiations, and I consider myself a lucky man to have had this experience. I think that since the first discussion, this did not pose as great a problem to us, the Hungarian negotiating side. At the first discussion I sensed, and perceived, a certain kind of surprise, because we sat down at the negotiating table with a very determined, well-thought-out standpoint. This has characterized the negotiations throughout, and I believe that this will continue in the future.

[Announcer] I do not know whether it can be linked with this or not, but in any event, for certain reports, one may draw the conclusion that the Soviet attitude seems to be changing in connection with the Soviet troop withdrawal. In fact, earlier on they hinted that, in the event of their being unable to assert their financial claims, because of the Hungarian side's objection, then perhaps the tempo of the troop withdrawal may slow down. I do not know whether I am exaggerating the affair, but I sense a kind of gentle blackmail in this. I may be right; I may not. But there has been a certain change lately. Recently I read in the paper, for example, that the Hungarian (Aero-Caritas) received two helicopters from Soviet soldiers, and so on and so forth. So, it would seem that something has happened in this matter.

[Annus] Yes, well, these matters can take various turns. I think that, fortunately, the thinking has returned to the correct channel, and I think the detour was connected mainly with Soviet internal political developments and events. Because, after all, this standpoint changed perceptibly after the Soviet Party Congress, as a result of its outcome. And actually it is characterized by a return to the basic spirit of the agreement. In other words, there is a commitment here and both sides have to fulfill their responsibilities honorably. In this agreement both sides clearly and unequivocally agreed to carry out the troop withdrawal according to a determined tempo schedule, or will guarantee it, from the Hungarian side.

[Announcer] And are we keeping to this tempo?

[Annus] We are keeping to it. That is one thing. The other thing is that every disputed issue can, in fact, be examined separately from the withdrawal itself. Because there is no connection between the two things meaning that, if at present, there still exist unresolved financial issues or disputes between the two sides, then the Soviet side could make this directly felt by slowing down or halting the withdrawal. The Soviet Union does not have the leeway to do this.

[Announcer] We should also say that here at home, I think—and we do not need to explain very much why—this is a factor that strongly influences the public mood. In the Soviet Union I imagine this is not entirely the case. But, perhaps it also helps a lot that, as I have heard, this week, at last, Soviet television came to see you. So public opinion there will also get to know our position. Perhaps this is not unimportant.

[Annus] Yes, I was very happy and I thanked Soviet television for this opportunity. I told them thank you very much for making it possible for me to present the Hungarian standpoint to the Soviet mass media. Because, until now, they had not made this possible for us; that is why a fairly one-sided picture developed of this whole sphere of issues. [passage omitted]

Foreign Minister Jeszenszky on Future of Europe

AU0908101890 Budapest NEPSZAVA in Hungarian 7 Aug 90 p 3

[Interview with Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky by Katalin Decsi; place and date not given: "What Future for Europe?"]

[Text] What does the future hold for our continent? Will Europe be directed from one central point or will it be divided into regions? These questions, along with others, arose at the Danube-Adriatic cooperation summit in Venice. Our correspondent asked Foreign Minister Jeszenszky about his opinion.

[Jeszenszky] As far as the future is concerned, we can only draw conclusions from present trends. Naturally, that does not mean that our views will prove to be correct. For example, nobody could have predicted the events of the past two years, even though several thousand researchers deal with East Europe. Still, it is essential for us to have some kind of vision of the Europe of the future; because, along with many other countries, with its foreign policy, Hungary would like to contribute to the building of this Europe.

It seems that we are currently witnessing the formation of a united superstate, directed from Brussels and Strasbourg, and led by technocrats and bureaucrats. My personal opinion is that such a huge, complex area cannot be directed from one central point. Neither a superstate, nor a party center—not even a wise man—can find a good solution for every problem. The world cannot be directed from Brussels, Moscow, Washington, or New York. Centralization inevitably goes hand in hand with regionalization—that is, the increased importance of local centers.

The latter tendency has recently come to the fore quite visibly. The role of local initiatives has grown in provinces belonging to the same area, but to different states, as well as within certain countries. The Pentagonal fits into this category.

[Decsi] The idea of a Carpathians-Tisza cooperation was also brought up at the Venice conference.

[Jeszenszky] When the proposal to extend the Pentagonal to Poland came up, many delegates argued that other nations could then emerge as well, expanding the cooperation program to such an extent that it could become an alternative to joining the united Europe. This point of view, however, is not realistic.

It would be more constructive to create new integrations. The Carpathians-Tisza cooperation could be such an example, encompassing eastern Slovakia, eastern Hungary and Vojvodina. In other words, I believe it would operate within a more modest framework than the Pentagonal; I would rather compare it to the Alpine-Adriatic cooperation.

One reason I am in favor of these forms of cooperation is because I feel that not only have the borders of central Europe been drawn up unfairly, they are also artificial. Communities were divided—not only Berlin. Small towns and even villages were cut up. At Satoraljaujhely, half the train station belongs to Hungary, while Czechoslovakia owns the other half. In other words, one of the main tasks of these cooperation programs would be to reunite smaller regions that economically belong together.

[Decsi] One of the most important problems that central and East Europe have to face is the unresolved situation of national minorities. Will it not stand in the way of cooperation?

[Jeszenszky] These cooperation programs could greatly contribute in finding a solution to this very problem; in my opinion, the example of West Europe clearly shows that mutual dislike diminishes in places where people are able to travel and move freely.

Why are ethnic conflicts erupting with such formidable strength in the Soviet Union at the moment? Because people have been mixed together artificially. Tens of millions of Russians were made to settle in an environment culturally and linguistically alien to them. Rather than becoming the true utopia of friendship among nations, the Soviet Union developed into the land of enemy nations. In the Soviet Union one could only travel with an interior passport—in other words, isolation is a hotbed for hatred.

In the Middle Ages our continent was marked by ethnic variety. In Transylvania, at the heart of Europe, Saxons, Hungarians and settling Romanians cohabited, arguing at times, but not inciting serious ethnic conflicts. Establishing freedom of movement is definitely good medicine against nationalist narrow-mindedness. Nations that have come to know each others' culture and language and have made contact will not hate each other. For instance, the numerous romantic links between Polish girls and Hungarian foot- soldiers in Galicia played an important part in building up friendship between Hungary and Poland.

Frequent meetings could be essential for truly good relations between nations; joint economic ventures that cement this friendship would not be a disadvantage either.

New Periodical for 'Non-Parliamentary' Parties

LD1008131190 Budapest MTI in English 1025 GMT 10 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, August 10 (MTI)—Several non-parliamentary political organizations are to launch a joint periodical entitled SZELROZSA (COMPASS).

The first issue will appear on the 17th of August. One page each will be edited by the Pensioners Party, the National Association of Political Prisoners, the Hungarian Independence Party, the Green Party of Hungary, the Federation of Nature and Society Protection, the National Smallholders' Party, the Social Democratic Party of Hungary, the Hungarian Liberal Party, the Democratic Youth Federation, the Democratic Coalition, the Hungarian People's Party, and the National Peasant Party.

Economic Statistics for Jan to Jun Released

LD0908135590 Budapest MTI in English 1152 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Budapest, 9 Aug (MTI-ECONEWS)—Figures published today from the Hungarian Central Statistical Office on Hungary's economic performance in the first six months of 1990.

	1989 in percentage of 1988	1989 months 1-6	1990 months 1-6
		as percent of the corr. period of previous year	
industry [ind]			
production, volume within that	99.1	100.1	90.4
—mining	102.2	94.6	88.4

	1989 in percentage of 1988	1989 months 1-6	1990 months 1-6
		as percent of the corr. period of previous year	
—electric energy ind.	102.2	101.6	100.6
—metallurgy	104.4	103.3	77.3
—engineering ind.	100.1	100.9	85.4
—building ind.	98.4	99.9	95.5
—chemical ind.	96.4	100.0	92.3
—light industry	95.1	96.3	90.2
—food industry	101.8	101.9	99.2
number in workforce	98.3	96.7	92.0
production per employee	100.8	103.5	98.3
sales prices	114.6	114.1	118.4
purchases of agricultural produce (at comparative prices)			
agricultural products total	98.3	100.4	92.2
Retail Trade			
sales (current prices)	116.7	118.0	112.7
sales (compar. prices)	98.9	100.0	89.6
within that:			
—foodstuffs and luxury goods	99.2	98.0	89.0
—clothing	88.9	91.8	87.7
—consumer durables	100.8	103.2	90.3
Consumer Price Index			
food	117.7	115.5	133.3
luxury goods	111.1	113.0	123.3
clothing	118.2	119.7	120.4
home heating	111.4	103.5	124.4
consumer durables	117.6	116.5	120.0
other consumer articles	122.4	121.8	124.3
services	116.6	115.5	124.3
total	117.0	116.0	125.7
Foreign Trade (current prices)			
imports	113.9	115.8	98.2
rouble	100.6	104.7	76.2
non-rouble	123.5	125.2	113.7
exports	116.0	122.7	104.1
rouble	105.4	112.9	67.3
non-rouble	123.7	131.0	130.9
Foreign Trade Balance (including transport costs)			
		1989 Jan-Jun	1990 Jan-Jun
rouble trade, million roubles		+355.3	-58.2
convertible trade, million U.S. dollars		+145.6	+553.3
total, billion forints		+19.5	+34.1

Poles Said Allowed To Leave for Jordan, Turkey

LD0908164490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1600 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] The nearly 3,000-strong group of Poles in Iraq and the more than 900 in Kuwait will be evacuated to Poland, although—as was said at a late afternoon news conference by Deputy Foreign Minister Jan Majewski—their lives are not in immediate danger. He said that the Iraqi authorities have agreed to the departure of Polish citizens from Iraq and Kuwait to Turkey and Jordan. Jan Majewski spoke of Tadeusz Mazowiecki's vital interest in the fate of the Poles. Mazowiecki is on holiday. The prime minister has given the instruction to use planes from the government Air Force squadron to transport the Poles who get out to Turkey and Jordan.

Foreign Ministry Official on Kuwait 'Annexation'

LD0908200190 Warsaw PAP in English 1737 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 9—The annexation of Kuwait by Iraq on Aug. 8, dictated—as a statement of the so-called provisional free government of Kuwait says—by historical changes and the will to compensate for wrongs and the legacy of colonialism, is, in fact, a direct effect of the Iraqi aggression on Kuwait, Undersecretary of State at the Foreign Ministry Jan Majewski told PAP today.

In this light the adoption by the Kuwaiti puppet authorities' of a declaration on unification with Iraq and the acceptance of this declaration by Iraq—as Iraqi President Saddam Hussein announced—cannot be regarded as conforming to law and morality, Majewski said.

Bush Statement Said To Show Political 'Disquiet'

LD0908202590 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1515 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] George Bush has expressed his very strong support for the government of Tadeusz Mazowiecki and his recognition of its achievements so far, said Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, commenting on the President's statement during the ceremony of presenting letters of credence by the new ambassador, Kazimierz Dziewanowski. Personally, it seems to me, added Jan Nowak-Jezioranski, the President's reply to the letters is dictated also by a certain disquiet as to whether the political split of Solidarity will not bring about a destabilization of Poland, something which will have to bring to a halt both credit aid and the supply of private capital. Apparently, it is already under the influence of the uncertainty of the political situation in Poland. Hungary and the CSFR are prefered, deemed to be safer clients.

This was a statement by Jan Nowak-Jezioranski.

Makarczyk on Two-Plus-Four Talks, Border Treaty

PM1008103190 Madrid ABC in Spanish 26 Jul 90 p 30

[Interview with Deputy Foreign Minister Jerzy Makarczyk by "S.I."-identified reporter in Madrid; date not given]

[Excerpt] [introductory passage omitted]

[ABC] Was Poland satisfied with the "two-plus-four" conference's agreement on the borders with Germany?

[Makarczyk] We believe that a new spirit, with which the Polish Government agrees, became clear at this conference. We secured the understanding of the six parties comprising this conference. We are satisfied that a decision was made to sign a treaty which will dispel any doubt about the borders and which will be signed as soon as possible after Germany's reunification.

[ABC] Does the fact that the signing of the bilateral treaty with Germany has been left until after reunification not cause you any apprehension?

[Makarczyk] Poland's demands are nothing special—just an adjustment between international law and Polish domestic law. We are convinced of Germany's goodwill, and so we have no apprehension.

Talks

[ABC] But Poland originally wanted the agreement to be signed before reunification...

[Makarczyk] No, Poland never wanted it to be signed before reunification, for the simple reason that sovereign decisions affecting the whole of Germany could not be taken before it becomes a single country. We were and are in favor of trilateral talks (between Poland, the FRG, and the GDR) to prepare the final text, in order to have an agreement drafted for signing as soon as possible after reunification.

[ABC] At the same time an economic and trade agreement will be signed. This has given rise to talk of the "cost" of these borders, of the price Poland has put on them.

[Makarczyk] This is a bilateral friendship and cooperation agreement. I wish to deny categorically, as we already did after the Paris talks, that the border agreement had or will have an economic cost. We assess positively the FRG's aid and cooperation as a very important factor for our development and for our being able to surmount our difficulties, but border matters cannot be linked to economic matters.

[ABC] Does Poland have any kind of claim concerning the eastern borders with the USSR?

[Makarczyk] No. There is no kind of problem on our eastern borders. We want the countries to the east of Poland to win their independence, including Lithuania, which partly belonged to Poland before the war, but there is now no Polish territorial claim on those borders, and this also includes the Ukraine. We want all these

states to be able to build their own future in accordance with a principle which we Poles respect—that of national sovereignty.

Soviet Troops

[ABC] When do you believe the Soviet troops should leave Poland?

[Makarczyk] That is a matter which we wish to resolve in a reasonable space of time. When there are no more Soviet troops left in Germany, the argument about logistic communications requirements for those troops to stay in Poland will disappear. We want the USSR troops to leave as soon as possible, but in a negotiated manner in order not to make things more difficult for Gorbachev. We realize that, on returning to the Soviet Union, those troops could encounter problems in finding work in their country; it is not our intention to create new conflicts in the USSR.

[ABC] As you know, it has been said that the Soviet troops are now the guarantee of the current borders with Germany.

[Makarczyk] No. Categorically, no. The only guarantee of the Polish border with Germany will be be the treaty about which we have already spoken and on which we are working. Right now, another country's military presence is not necessary. I believe that the four powers are in agreement on this matter. The best guarantee is Poland's and Germany's participation in building a united Europe.

[ABC] Do you believe that Poland should join the EC?

[Makarczyk] Yes.

[ABC] When?

[Makarczyk] In the not very distant future. We are grateful to Spain for its support in our application to join the Council of Europe, and we hope that it will do the same for our joining the EC.

Economic Reforms

[ABC] From abroad, we saw Poland become the first to initiate the reforms which the whole of East Europe is now implementing, yet it now seems to be one of the countries lagging furthest behind on that path.

[Makarczyk] That idea is incorrect. As far as the economic reforms are concerned, we are undoubtedly in the lead. The Sejm (parliament) recently approved the privatization law to attract foreign capital, but this is just one of the elements of the economic reform. In the political field, it is true that we have not yet held democratic elections to the lower house, although we have done so to the upper house and held local elections, which are the basis of democracy.

[ABC] There seems no doubt that the Polish Government supports Gorbachev's perestroyka. Would these changes in Poland be possible if the Soviet top leader lost power or died?

[Makarczyk] We believe that we are a sovereign country which makes decisions on its own account, and that perestroyka is the only possible process in the USSR, but the hypothesis which you raise would affect not only Poland but the whole of East Europe. Building the new Europe would not be possible without the USSR's participation.

Spokesman Views Kohl Speech on Polish Relations

LD0908212490 Warsaw PAP in English 1903 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, 9 Aug—Following is a statement of Poland's government spokesman made in connection with FRG Chancellor Helmut Kohl's speech in Stuttgart on August 5:

The Government of the Republic of Poland and the Polish public opinion attentively noted the speech made by Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany Helmut Kohl on August 5 in Stuttgart on the occasion of the 40th anniversary of the so-called charter of expelees.

Considerable part of that speech was devoted to Polish-German relations. It was marked by the future-oriented will of reconciliation and development of partner-like relations with Poland at the treshold of the unification of Germany and the shaping of a new Europe as a community of free nations.

In the speech we can find much in common with Poland's striving for wide and harmonious cooperation in relations with Germany and for creating Polish-German community of interests in a uniting Europe.

We received with satisfaction the words of Mr. Chancellor that the Polish-German border in its present shape is final and will not be questioned by the Germans through territorial claims either today or in the future.

What is significant is that Chancellor Kohl emphasizes that this clear stand on the issue of the borders is a condition for using the historic chance for the finalization of German unification.

A peaceful future of Polish-German relations and the furthering of the cause of agreement and reconciliation can be built only on a permanent basis to be provided by a treaty confirming under international law the final character of the current line of the Polish-German border.

The federal chancellor's address was directed to representatives of resettlers' organizations. We are convinced that also this part of the German nation may make its own contribution to the process of Polish-German reconciliation.

We fully share the chancellor's view that a treaty on good-neighbourly and friendly relations would also create favourable premises for the future development of cooperation. A good point of reference for this treaty are postulates included in the joint statement made by Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl and signed during the latter's visit in Poland last year.

We are anxious to see that all things that have proved to be right and advantageous into-date cooperation with the two German states could be not only preserved but also developed in future relations between Poland and a united Germany. We want to open new areas and forms of cooperation.

We welcome with satisfaction the announcement of support for economic transformations in Poland. Activities aimed to level the economic development which were mentioned by the chancellor would be favourable not only for Poles and Germans but would also contribute to the construction of European unity. We are happy that the federal chancellor perceives the importance of German-Polish partnership for the process of European unification.

Walesa Calls for 'Truly Free' Elections

LD0908184790 Warsaw PAP in English 1730 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 9—The press office of the Solidarity leader today conveyed to PAP Lech Walesa's statement on parliamentary and prsidential elections, which reads in part:

The current political arrangement has no social backup. There is a need for possibly early parliamentary and presidential elections to be held as soon as possible. These must be democratic elections, allowing for the participation of all political groups in them. Let these elections be truly free.

I have always believed that Poland needs a president vested with broad powers, elected in general elections.

The just-starting electoral campaign already now is marked by sharp statements made by individual parties and politicians. It is time to end the stage of personal attacks. The point is not in people but in programmes of bringing Poland closer to democracy. Let us fight with arguments and not with invectives.

ROAD, SdRP Officials Comment

LD0908201890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1730 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Statements by Aleksandr Labuda, member of the Citizens Movement "Democratic Action," ROAD, and Leszek Miller, secretary general of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic, SdRP; place and date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Labuda] I receive the statement by Lech Walesa with satisfaction. In this statement, in my opinion, Chairman Lech Walesa distances himself from the concept of political acceleration. I think that this augures well for the coming few months in a country which needs calm. The position taken by Lech Walesa in the statement is very close to that position proposed by ROAD [Citizens Movement "Democratic Action"], of which I am a member.

[Unidentified announcer] We also have a statement from the secretary-general of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP], Leszek Miller.

[Miller] Two elements arouse my particular approval. The first relates to the appeal for the appropriate political good manners, ending the return to the wild in politics, to which we are unfortunately witnesses. The second element relates to the election of the president not by the National Assembly but in universal elections. The question thus suggests itself of when the president would be chosen in universal elections. In my view, the sequence should be as follows: first the draft constitution, which should be passed by this parliament. Then, the elections to a new Sejm. Then, the new constitution accepted by the new Sejm—in this constitution, the prerogatives of the president. At the end of this process, the election of a new president.

Poll Results on Government Support Reported

LD0908215490 Warsaw PAP in English 1747 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug. 9—Asked about their attitude to the government, 10 per cent of those polled by the Polish Radio and TV polling centre on July 23-24 said that they firmly supported the government, 27 per cent said they rather suported it, 43 per cent neither supported nor opposed the government, 6 per cent admitted they were rather against it while 2 per cent described themselves as firm opponents of the government. The rest (2 per cent) did not have a firm opinion on the issue.

Asked when the next parliamentary elections should be held, 33 per cent of respondents said that the current terms of the Sejm and the Senate should be shortened and the elections should be held next year.

Another 33 per cent said that the elections should be held as soon as possible, still this year.

Every fifth person polled [22 per cent] was of the opinion that the current Sejm and Senate should perform their dutiles till the end of their term in 1993.

'Solidarity '80' Protests Registration Ruling

LD0908152190 Warsaw PAP in English 1423 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Warsaw, Aug 9—Members and advocates of thea "Solidarity'80" union marched from the court building to the headquarters of the Citizens' committee here to protest against the court's refusal to register the union.

Participants in the demonstration held in front of the Citizens' Committee headquarters accused Walesa of cooperation with Communists and betrayal of the ideals of August 1980.

'Movement for Democracy' Registered in Katowice

LD0908220490 Moscow PAP in English 1743 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Katowice, Aug. 9—A citizens' association called the Movement for Democracy was registered at the voivodship court in Katowice today.

The aim of the association is to enable citizens, irrespective of their beliefs, an active participation in the public life based on equal rights and the pronouncement of different opinions.

The association is internally differentiated, groups representatives of various political orientations and from various social groups, and is organized in a federation.

Its founding members come from Sosnowiec. Ryszard Zajac and Eugeniusz Janula are the movement's representatives in Poland.

* Polish Deputy Minister of Defense Interviewed

90EP0663A Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 22 May 90 p 6

[Report on interview with Deputy Defense Minister Janusz Onyszkiewicz by Miklos Ritecz; place and date not given: "Now the Soviet Presence Is Really Temporary"]

[Text] An interesting piece of news broke the other day creating quite a stir: civilian politicians have been named as deputy ministers of defense in Poland. One of the two was Janusz Onyszkiewicz, a former spokesman of Solidarity, whose chief responsibility will be dealing with foreign policy issues that concern the Ministry. According to his own account, so far he has managed to avoid the military, but as fate would have it, the 53-year-old mathematician, and recently one of the country's top-ranking politicians, has been assigned to work with men in uniform. It was in his new office in the building of the Ministry of Defense that he received our Warsaw correspondent.

[Ritecz] Mr. Onyszkiewicz, your appointment appears to be another step in the process of establishing Solidarity control over certain key ministries, i.e., those of the interior and national defense, which heretofore had been held by the old generals. Is it conceivable that in the future we will see more civilians assigned here?

[Onyszkiewicz] Although the presence of civilians in the defense ministry is indeed inconsistent with the traditions of Polish politics, in the political life of the democratic countries this is a completely natural phenomenon. The changes we have undertaken in this area are aimed at bringing the army under closer state and social control. Until recently, the Polish military had been built on strict ideological foundations, serving as the army of the Communist Party. Without bringing in people from the outside, the notion of increasing social control would be a bit odious. Moreover, the people would not believe that there are real changes taking place in defense. It is well known that while formally the military was a state institution, it was under the total control of the Communist Party. For all practical purposes there were no high ranking officers who did not belong to the party. Even the satellite parties, the Peasant Party and the Democratic Party, were denied any say in the affairs of the Ministry. The PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] was in sole control.

[Ritecz] Could it be that Solidarity now wants to take the Communists' place in controlling national defense?

[Onyszkiewicz] Not at all. We simply want to make the military more open to social scrutiny. What we want is a nonpolitical military. The ideological principles we hope will guide the army are patriotism, loyalty to the state and to the government elected by the people, in other words, a commitment to serving the nation. As a fundamental principle, officers in the future will be forbidden from joining any political organizations or parties. In order to ensure that these principles are observed, we need to have new people—civilians—in the appropriate positions. Solidarity does not have any colonels or generals to put in charge of the Ministry. It only has civilian politicians. More so than any of the other branches, the Ministry of Defense has been an enigma to Solidarity, for we have known absolutely nothing about its inner workings. Even from the operating mechanism of the Ministry of Interior we have been able to get at least a little taste recently, although for the most part this "familiarization" was rather unpleasant and one-sided.

[Ritecz] Once you civilian politicians have become more familiar with the way the Defense Ministry operates, is it possible that in the near future you might also take control of the ministerial post?

[Onyszkiewicz] I believe that sooner or later there will be some changes, in view of the fact that our minister, Mr. Siwicki—who is already over 65—has himself asked the head of state to decide about his future. By this I do not intend to suggest that he will immediately have to leave, or even that a civilian will necessarily take his place. I am convinced, however, that within the foreseeable future, Poland—following the example of the above mentioned democratic states—will have a Defense Ministry headed by civilians. I would add, however, that this does not necessarily imply that the army will also be commanded by civilians.

[Ritecz] In their recent comments, responsible Polish politicians and party leaders have come out in favor of maintaining a strong Polish army. Hearing this one cannot help but think about the challenges presented by the prospect of a unified Germany. Warsaw has been similarly careful in its approach to the issue of Soviet troop withdrawals...

[Onyszkiewicz] Having two powerful neighbors in itself is not a compelling reason for us to maintain a strong military. The fact, however, is that both neighboring powers are undergoing profound changes. The German transformation, in my opinion, cannot lead to any kind

of destabilization. Unfortunately, it appears less and less likely that the Soviet changes will take place smoothly. This uncertainty in our eastern neighbor, in turn, makes it impossible to cut the strength of the Polish military. Signs of instability are never favorable conditions for disarmament. In spite of this—should an agreement be worked out at the Vienna conference—Poland is ready to scale back the size of its forces.

The number of Soviet soldiers stationed in Poland is relatively small, amounting to only about 55,000 men, or two divisions. If I remember correctly, in Hungary there were three, and in Czechoslovakia five divisions stationed. For the most part, the mission of the units positioned in our country is to provide logistics for the Soviet troops stationed in Germany. They will more then likely remain in Poland, as long as there are sizable Soviet forces kept in Germany, for they are needed to ensure a secure rear and reliable supply routes. Perhaps we will know more about this following the two-plus-four negotiations. To me it is clear that the presence of Soviet troops in an already unified Germany will also not be lasting. In other words, when we say temporary Soviet presence, we really mean temporary—perhaps lasting another five to seven years—not the way it was interpreted in 1956, when temporary meant unlimited stay.

[Ritecz] Warsaw has already begun negotiations with Moscow about troop reductions.

[Onyszkiewicz] That is correct; however, our proposals pertain mostly to fighting ground units. In terms of numbers, they involve about 5,000 men. The troops to be withdrawn will be mostly landing assault and airborne units.

[Ritecz] We are hearing more and more about the unified Germany becoming a member of NATO. How do you feel about having NATO units stationed perhaps directly on the Polish border?

[Onyszkiewicz] We would definitely oppose any attempt to push the present dividing line between NATO and the Warsaw Pact further to the east of the Elba, and to try to reestablish it along the Oder-Neisse line. This would not be acceptable to us, even if both blocs were to undergo drastic changes in the future. This is why—for the moment—we support the Soviet military presence. Once the Soviets leave, I would not rule out the possibility—on a temporary basis—of setting up joint German-Polish units to be stationed in what is today the GDR. Creating such a joint force would yield dual benefits, which are being more and more seriously considered in the FRG. On the one hand, it would dispel various fears, and on the other, it would help to build a bridge between the German and Polish peoples. All of this, of course, is only speculation.

[Ritecz] During his visit to Warsaw, the West German head of state Weizsacker clearly stated: Poland's borders are inviolable. What other guarantees do you expect from the German side? Will you be able to negotiate some kind of an agreement with the two German states before the unification becomes formal?

[Onyszkiewicz] The president's statement was indeed encouraging, but not enough. What we expect is a declaration of intent signed by representatives of the Germany of the future, recognizing the Polish borders as they are today. After all, the Germany of the future will not be populated by people from the moon, but by today's citizens of the GDR, FRG and West Berlin. The declarations issued by the two German parliaments already represent a step forward. As the next necessary step, the two governments will have to take a responsible stand, guaranteeing the security of the existing borders. This stand would have to be expressed in the form of a detailed border agreement signed by the governments affected, and to be ratified by the unified Germany.

[Ritecz] You have mentioned the changing role of military blocs. What will happen to the Warsaw Pact?

[Onyszkiewicz] I think that it will evolve into a broader organization, one that will be different in philosophy from the present alliance. In the past, the enemy concept was the determining basis of the Warsaw Pacts existence. By enemy, they meant the West. In the future, this will no longer be the case. Not only in name, but also in reality, it will become a defensive alliance, a regional security pact. It will be a political and consultative organization in nature, which in a certain sense will be cooperating with NATO.

UN Trade Sanctions, Romanians in Iraq Viewed

AU0908185590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1722 GMT 9 Aug 90

["Diplomatic Diary—Press Conference at the Foreign Affairs Ministry"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—Romania's Embassy in Baghdad was instructed to keep in touch with the Iraqi Government and with the Romanian citizens working in Iraq, and to take every measure for their protection and security, the Foreign Affairs ministry spokesman, Traian Chebeleu, told a press conference, in Bucharest Thursday [9 August].

There are about 3,050 Romanian citizens in Iraq for different durations. "Of course, there isn't very much that can be done now. The borders are closed, the waters are mined, but our embassy in Iraq is taking all the measures it can to protect the Romanian citizens. Through diplomatic channels we are also in contact with other countries which are in a similar position and together we are seeking ways to protect our citizens", Traian Chebeleu said.

In answer to journalists' questions, the Foreign Ministry spokesman said that Romania "its substantial economic interests in Iraq notwithstanding" observes the economic sanctions against Iraq decided by the Security Council, and showed that Romania favoured a political negotiated settlement of the conflict, not military actions.

The Foreign Ministry spokesman told the same press conference about the Romanian-Soviet consultations in Moscow between Romulus Neagu, secretary of state at the Romanian Foreign Ministry, and the Soviet Union's deputy foreign minister, Yuriy Kvitsinskiy, on a broad spectrum of topical problems of great interest, chiefly related to the latest political developments in Europe.

Citizens Reportedly Safe

AU0908192990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1807 GMT 9 Aug 90

["Romania in the World—Romanians in Iraq and Kuwait Are Safe"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—With on-going events in Iraq and Kuwait, Romania's embassies in Baghdad and Kuwait city and the Romanian Foreign Ministry are in permanent contact with the building sites and the representation offices where Romanian citizens work, as well as with local authorities, the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Romania announces.

Direct information until now shows that the Romanian citizens on assignment to Iraq and Kuwait were not involved in any incidents that could put their lives or security in jeopardy. Action is further taken by the Romanian authorities to avoid any situation that could affect the Romanian citizens in those countries.

Foreign Ministry's Reaction to Gulf Crisis

AU0908210290

[Editorial Report] Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian at 1940 GMT on 9 August, within its "24 Hours" program, carries a recorded portion of statements made in Bucharest today by Romanian Foreign Ministry Spokesman Traian Chebeleu during his weekly news conference on the situation in the Gulf region and on Romania's position in connection with the Kuwaiti crisis.

Chebeleu recalls the Romanian Government statement issued after the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, which "was valued in diplomatic circles and at the United Nations as a realistic and responsible reaction." He mentions the activity of the Romanian delegation at the UN Security Council "which presides over the proceedings of the council this month" and which "carried out intensive activity, making a significant contribution, which was highly valued by the other members of the Council, to the endorsement—without any votes against—of the 2 August resolution which condemns Iraqi actions and calls for the immediate and unconditioned withdrawal of all its troops from Kuwait." Chebeleu also recalls the 6 August UN resolution on "sanctions against Iraq," which was also supported by the Romanian president of the Security Council, who "carried out intensive activity in order that this resolution would receive the greatest possible support" and mentions the current "intensive discussions to adopt a new UN Security Council resolution, which does not recognize the Iraqi Government's declaration on the annexation of Kuwait."

The Foreign Ministry spokesman also informs the journalists about the activity of the Romanian Embassy in Baghdad to protect and guarantee the security of Romanian citizens, noting that "however, for the time being not much can be done since the borders are closed and the waters are mined, but we are in permanent contact with our embassy which will take all measures to ensure the protection of Romanian citizens."

In connection with the UN resolutions on economic sanctions against Iraq, Chebeleu says that "although Romania has substantial economic interests in Iraq, our government is firmly determined to fully observe the economic sanctions decided upon by the Security Council" adding that "through diplomatic channels and particularly through our delegations at the United Nations and our representatives in the Security Council, we call for a negotiated settlement of the Gulf conflict, in the spirit of the UN Security Council resolution, and actions which could aggravate a situation that is already quite volatile in that region should be avoided."

Anniversary of Diplomatic Ties With Syria Marked

AU0908194290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1817 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—Congratulatory messages were exchanged by the Romanian foreign affairs

minister, Adrian Nastase, and Syria's foreign affairs minister, Farouk al-Sharaa, to mark 35 yars since diplomatic relations were established between Romania and the Syrian Arab Republic.

Confidence is expressed in the messages in the growing friendship and cooperation, for the benefit of the Romanian and Syrian peoples, of world peace and understanding.

Iliescu Receives Departing Libyan Ambassador

AU0908171090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1519 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—Romania's president, Ion Iliescu, received on Thursday [9 August], at Cotroceni Palace, Muhammad 'Umar Baruni, secretary of the Popular Bureau of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya in Bucharest, on ending his mission in Romania.

Both sides expressed their belief that there are favourable conditions for the development of bilateral relations in various fields.

Iliescu Receives New French Ambassador

AU0908171490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1522 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—The president of Romania, Ion Iliescu, received, Thursday 9 August at Cotroceni Palace, France's new ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Bucharest, Renauld Vignal, who presented his letters of credence. Attending was the Romanian foreign minister, Adrian Nastase.

Showing how pleased he was to accept the mission, the French ambassador wished success to the Romanian leadership, government and institutions formed after the 20 May elections on the road of renewal, to economic, social and political democratization and the implementation of the government's programme enacted by parliament.

Reference was made to the traditional Romanian-French friendship and cooperation, to the French people's aid and solidarity with the Romanian people in hard times.

President Ion Iliescu stated the readiness and willingness of the Romanian side to expand and deepen the relationship between the two states and peoples in all areas on the basis of mutual advantage. The French Government's position, he said, was moderate, realizing the problems confronting Romania today. The ambassador was assured that he would get full support from the Romanian leadership and government in discharging his mission.

Roman Discusses Economy, Elections, 13 Jun

AU1008100690 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 9 Aug 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Prime Minister Petre Roman by Livia Klingl in Vienna on 7 August: "Those Who Oppose Are From the Underworld"]

[Text] Petre Roman was in Vienna on Tuesday [7 August] on the occasion of the funeral of former Chancellor Bruno Kreisky. He met with Chancellor Franz Vranitzky to discuss questions related to migration and closer cooperation between Austria and Romania.

The interior ministers of the two countries will meet in the foreseeable future for talks on limiting the influx of Romanian emigrants to Austria.

In his talk with the prime minister, Vranitzky expressed the concern of the Austrian public at the slow progress of democratic developments in Romania. Roman assured his counterpart that he would personally struggle for a solution of the immigration problem in Bucharest. In the following interview Roman describes his view of the current situation in Romania:

[Klingl] A few weeks ago you presented your government program. What are its most important points?

[Roman] The most important point is radical economic reform, a transformation of the economy toward the market.

[Klingl] A short time ago you adopted a law according to which even enterprises and firms that are in deficit can be obliged to employ jobless people. Is this not a rather communist approach?

[Roman] No, not at all. The law only applies to certain enterprises and is intended to stimulate the economy.

[Klingl] No matter who you talk to in Romania, everybody says that people do not actually work anywhere.

[Roman] We also had this feeling. It is true that the output has decreased, which is a result of the physical tiredness caused by the past three or four years of the dictatorship. The dictator overstrained the people and the material.

This is why we have accepted that both the people and the machines are worn out. This means that now we must check on the working groups more often. We are in a very delicate situation.

[Klingl] The atmosphere in Bucharest is rather bad: the people are scared, the opposition is afraid.

[Roman] I find that the atmosphere is rather good. The opposition is not afraid. One must differentiate between the opposition and opponents. The opposition, which is the group that is represented in parliament, does not have any fear.

[Klingl] What about those that oppose outside parliament?

[Roman] Those people are not ready for dialogue. They do not see what is going on in the country. Something important is going on in Romania. It is a democratic process that is developing nicely. The democratic institutions are working. Life is taking place in a democratic framework.

[Klingl] Were the elections democratic as well?

[Roman] Of course they were. This has been confirmed even by international observers.

[Klingl] Not all of them have confirmed it, and the international press did not share this view either.

[Roman] I am speaking of the majority of observers. Only a few press people held a different view. This is a most stubborn attitude.

[Klingl] Yet the opposition spoke of manipulation as well.

[Roman] True, because it was disappointed at the poor results it achieved.

[Klingl] This is only one of the reasons. The other one is that not everything took place in a correct way.

[Roman] Were you there?

[Klingl] Yes, I was.

[Roman] Did you notice any irregularities?

[Klingl] Yes, I did not see anything that was absolutely correct.

[Roman] Well, you must be one of very few. We have differing views in this respect. I know exactly how the elections took place. They were correct.

[Klingl] What is your opinion of the events of 13-15 June, when tens of thousands of miners came to Bucharest?

[Roman] June 13th was the crucial day. We saw ourselves in a very critical situation, because the democratic institutions were in danger. There was a wave of violent actions—violent in the truest sense of the word—against the democratic institutions.

[Klingl] Who started it off?

[Roman] Those who started it were from the very beginning aiming at setting back the country and its new political achievements.

[Klingl] Do you believe that the leader of the Students' League, Marian Munteanu, is a violent man?

[Roman] Yes, absolutely. He has proved it. Just ask his colleagues. Nevertheless, we decided to release him under the condition that he makes himself available to the judicial authorities. His detention was no longer necessary. Moreover, on 13 June not a single student, except for Munteanu, was involved in the 13 June events (devastations in the capital).

[Klingl] Who were the others?

[Roman] The others were what one calls the underworld.

[Klingl] Are the judicial authorities working correctly?

[Roman] Of course they are. Since the revolution we have changed 80 percent of the staff there.

[Klingl] Do you think that it was a revolution?

[Roman] Certainly—I know it. After all, I took part in it. Everything indicates that it was a revolution: the change of the government—all this was supported by a wide popular movement.

[Klingl] Nicolae Militaru, who was defense minister in December, gave an exact description of the course of the putsch in an interview.

[Roman] He never spoke of a putsch, because this is not true. He said that six months earlier a few people had come to the conclusion that something had to happen.

[Klingl] Were you one of them?

[Roman] No, I was not.

[Klingl] What were your political activities before you assumed your current position?

[Roman] I did not have any.

[Klingl] How were you able to become prime minister?

[Roman] This is a long story. In a nutshell—because I took part in the revolution.

[Klingl] How long have you known President Iliescu?

[Roman] Everybody knew him in Romania. He was the only political figure courageous enough to oppose Ceausescu in public. This is why I knew him. Moreover, he was the director of the publishing house that published some of my books. And what does this prove? Nothing!

[Klingl] Why, what should it prove?

[Roman] Nothing whatsoever. By the way, had it been a putsch why should we want to deny it?

[Klingl] Maybe in order to meet with more sympathy on the part of the West?

[Roman] But we had all the sympathy!

[Klingl] Even after the June events? Did you not lose a lot of sympathy then?

[Roman] Where? Abroad! Because of the journalists!

Reviews Vienna Visit

AU0908163390 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1300 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Statement by Prime Minister Petre Roman upon return from Vienna at Bucharest Otopeni Airport on 9 August—recorded]

[Text] The visit I paid to Vienna was occasioned by the funeral of the former Austrian Chancellor Bruno Kreisky, a great personality for Austria and for the whole West European socialist political movement.

For me it was important and useful to be present there, first and foremost because I had the opportunity to hold a number of meetings with personalities of the international political arena. I met with Austria's Chancellor Vranitzky, with the Hans-Dietrich Genscher, FRG vice chancellor and foreign minister, with French Foreign Minister Roland Dumas, with Socialist International President Willy Brandt, with the international secretary [as received] of the Austrian Socialist Party and a well-known militant in the Socialist International Vranitzky, and with Italian Foreign Minister De Michelis.

All these meetings are very useful in gaging the reaction of these front-ranking political personalities concerning our bilateral relations with the respective countries and with the current position of our country in the international arena, particularly in the European arena.

In general I am pleased with these meetings, primarily because Romania is regarded in a much more favorable way now. There are only some, I could say question marks, which I personally succeeded in eliminating to a certain extent and it is essential for us to show the world things about which I have no doubts whatsoever—that is, that Romania is on a road of profound democratic transformations, both in the political and economic areas. Likewise, these meetings were certainly important for me as the leader of the formation that represents the majority in the Romanian parliament, a political movement which, as you well know, is very close to the social democratic movement and requested to be admitted as member of the Socialist International. So, I can say that on the whole, I am pleased with this visit.

Iliescu Meets War Veterans Association

AU0908180790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1533 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—Romania's president, Ion Iliescu, met the leaders of the War Veterans National Association on Thursday [9 August].

They presented the activity and concerns of this organization with 180,000 members—invalids, ex-pow's, war widows—who take a great interest in the economic, social and political transformations of our country.

The leaders of the association requested the acknowledgement of the war veterans' rights, arising from their legal status, and the granting of certain social and humanitarian facilities. President Iliescu pledged to sensitize the government and the other responsible factors in order to solve these requests in a manner which will restore dignity and honor to the association members, in a gesture of gratitude of society towards those who, through their sacrifice, contributed to the protection of the national being, independence and integrity.

Head of Police Talks to Romani Representatives

AU0908180890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1528 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—In a meeting with leaders of Romani political parties and organizations at Bucharest's Police Headquarters, Major General Corneliu Diamandescu, head of the Police Department showed that the number of Romani offenders had grown alarmingly of late, and that there were counties—Sibiu, Mures, Ialomita, Bihor, Giurgiu—where it topped the all-country average. More specifically, 1,214 offenders brought damage to private property, 586 to public property and 236 were robberies. There was also organized theft in factories, orchards and in the fields.

The leaders of Romani political parties and organizations who attended the meeting unanimously condemend the facts and agreed that meetings between Police Department's executives and Romani leaders be held quarterly.

Government Delegation Visits Tirgu Mures

AU0908103690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0955 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—A ministerial team have paid a visit to Tirgu Mures these days. The delegation, which included Victor Babiuc, minister of justice, Gheorghe Stefan, minister of education and science, Ionel Roman, deputy speaker of the Assembly of Deputies, Ion Oancea, deputy, Vasile Salajan, deputy, Iosif Timen, deputy, Virgil Magureanu, director of the Romanian Intelligence Service, an adviser to Romania's president and journalists, intended to "take the pulse" of a town where tragic events occurred caused by interethnic conflicts, the minister of justice said. The delegation will inform both the government and the parliament of the results of their visit, the minister also specified.

'Vatra Romaneasca' Commemorates 'Vienna Award'

AU0908190290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1720 GMT 9 Aug 90

["Transylvania—Remember the Vienna Award"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—The National Steering Council of the "Vatra Romaneasca" union met on 4 August in the County of Covasna to discuss the commemoration of the rape of the Northern part of

Transylvania with an area of 43,500 sq.km and a population of 2,600,000—Romanian for the most part—on 30 August 1940 known as the Vienna Award.

The Council decided to put before the government a number of proposals among which articles in the press, special radio and television programmes, symposia and conferences on that theme, events arranged at the memorials to the heroes and victims of the temporary occupation of North Transylvania, religious services in Orthodox, Greek-Catholic and other churches, events arranged abroad to spread knowledge of the Vienna Award of 30 August 1940 and its consequences.

The proposals were upheld by representatives of the Popular Front of Moldavia, the League of Victims in North-West Transylvania and the Association of Refugees from North-West Transylvania who attended the meeting in Covasna County.

Dijmarescu on Enterprise Reorganization Law

AU0908112690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0943 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—In an article in daily "ADEVARUL" Mr. Eugen Dijmarescu, minister secretary of state in charge of economic guidance, assesses the law of reorganization of state enterprises into autonomous units and commercial companies, recently adopted by the parliament, as the birth certificate of the reform of the economic mechanism in Romania. This law introduces elements of positive discontinuity for the management of the Romanian economy, a discontinuity induced by the economic agents' becoming autonomous concomitantly with the abandonment of state's interference in the enterprise's administration.

Concretely, as compared with the numberless responsibilities incumbent on enterprises so far, the law restores the fundamental rights of enterprises giving them full freedom of decision-making as regards their production, supply and sales programme, technological organization, wages and employment of work force, investment and prices, foreign trade, form of property.

Consequently, the socialist-type centralized planning system will be replaced starting 1 January by an orientative socioeconomic programme whereby the economic agents will be informed about the consumers' social requirements, as well as about economic demands devolving from Romania's international commitments and strategic purposes, the enterprises being free to organize and manage their productive-commercial processes. Just as any other client, the state will deliver public orders to one enterprise or another according to the same criteria of an authentic competition.

The minister stresses that the autonomy of economic agents is incompatible with the maintenance of a system of centralized allotment of resources, with the continuation of production programmes worked out according to the enterprises' lack of interest in acquiring and administering resources, and of concern to produce what is in real demand in stores and requested by socioeconomic activities.

The same law sanctions another aspect of positive discontinuity which favours the consumer: the disintegration of central departments to the advantage of free competition, Eugen Dijmarescu shows. The law stipulates that the central departments and their post-revolution derivatives should cease to exist as the state enterprises turn into commercial companies, their bureaucracy and technocracy being able to prove their professional and management competence where material goods are actually produced.

Another positive element of discontinuity is the openness to industrial and foreign partnership. If not only physical persons but also enterprises—traditional partners are supposed to be interested in the first place—purchased more than 30 per cent of the enterprises' shares then the present shortcomings of the supplier-beneficiary relationship will be replaced by the mutual interest in profits, and the vote in the administration council will no longer express concern only for one's own house but also for the neighbour's. Obviously, the shares, purchased also by banks and other kinds of associations alongside enterprises and natural persons, will help the enterprise's own capital increase and through it the growth of the investment funds required by re-equipment and restructuring.

The social consequence of shareholding is not only the restoration of the rights of private property and the guaranteeing of additional incomes, but also the contribution to rendering enterprises profitable by stimulating the capital which is very important in the context of inheriting a precarious state budget which will have to cover social security expenditures otherwise coverable through public loans, that is by impoverishing the population, Eugen Dijmarescu opines.

Further on Agreement in Sapinta Case

AU0908120690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0943 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—Yesterday, engineer Anton Pop, prefect of Maramures County, initiated in Sighetul Marmatiei a dialogue a group of villagers, engineers, doctors, economists and technicians of Sapinta. Present were Senator Stelian Morcovescu, deputy Silviu Ciplea, Colonel Grigore Pintea, head of Maramures County Police Inspectorate, and journalists.

Numerous aspects related to the causes of the conflict were clarified during the dialogue and the following conclusions-measures were reached:

1. The inhabitants of Sapinta should be explained correctly the situation created, the fact being accepted that nobody on the administration of Maramures County wants or pursues the re-establishment of the producer

cooperative farm and re-installation of the former leaders—rumours of those interested in destabilization.
2. The three commissions inquiring into the abuses committed in Sapinta before and after the revolution should be staffed and should resume their activity to hold responsible the guilty ones and bring them to trial.
3. The blocking of the national road no. 19 is a serious offence which greatly prejudices the county's economy and the rights of the citizens, and those guilty will be inquired and held responsible.
4. The former mayor Toader Stetca was arrested on the basis of a warrant issued by the County Procurator's Office for outrage (he hit a police officer on duty) his file being sent to the tribunal.
5. It was suggested that until the members of the Sapinta mayorship were appointed a seven-member steering council be elected representing both groups in conflict—to solve the commune's problems.
6. Conditions will be put in place for the group of children to leave for France as previously agreed.

Hunger Strike for University Placement Continues

AU0908170890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1530 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—Sixteen young people who failed to take their higher-school entrance examination in July continue their hunger strike outside the Ministry of Education and Science under Red Cross supervision.

An open letter carrying more than one hundred signatures to President Iliescu demands that all young people who took an exam for the day classes of higher schools and got such marks that were at least as good or even better than those of the candidates who had been admitted to the extra mural courses of higher schools be admitted to the extra mural courses of the higher schools where they had failed the entrance examination for the day classes.

Ministerial executives repeatedly talked with representatives of the hunger strikers but failed to break the deadlock.

The arguments of the ministry are:

1. The number of places approved by the government for each separate faculty was announced before the entrance examination and no protest was recorded;
2. There is no reason why one faculty should get an extra number of places and another should get none;
3. The number of places is almost half as big as last year;
4. The ministry cannot change a government decision. What could have been contested was the fairness of the examination, but it was not when it was in progress of after the results were announced.

Professor Mihai Zamfir who heads the ministry's Higher Learning Division, is of the opinion that the claimants "are after an illusion namely that the 'irresponsible' additions granted a few months ago also under hunger strikers' pressure, can still be made, no matter how or when."

Domokos Statements to LIBERTATEA Noted

AU0908190590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1709 GMT 9 Aug 90

["Interviews-Statements—Domokos Geza: "Let's Give Up Mistrust"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—I will not say there are no Hungarian nationalistic tendencies: but such tendencies are mutually potentiated, [as received] says Writer Geza Domokos, leader of the Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania [HDUR], in an interview with daily LIBERTATEA.

Terming as "childish" the alleged intentions to annex Transylvania, he supplies the following arguments: "What would any plebiscite—be it under international supervision—show? Two thirds of Transylvania are Romanian. And Hungary—with its economic situation and its social convulsions—would it need five million minority Romanians? I think it is about time to rid ourselves of fear. Romanians, too, are afraid of Hungarians. We should give up this mistrust, once and for all".

Geza Domokos thinks that "the reunification of Romanian society will be a slow process" and is afraid lest "many should seek their ideal in national sentiment" which is "old-fashioned" in Europe today "when the role of the nations is re-defined, and which loses its value". "If this is what is counted on, then the tendencies to isolation, mistrust, xenophoby will grow stronger" says the writer.

Starting here from the HDUR president pleads for a complete change of vision, for Romanians and Hungarians to go deeper in the self-analysis of the idealization of their own values, which would bring general benefits.

In answer to a question on whether the Hungarian Government had contributed to the growing inter-ethnic tension, Geza Domokos said among other things: "In Hungary Romania's revolution was received as if it were its own success. Problems arose afterward. There wouldn't have been any, had the NSF [National Salvation Front] taken things in earnest and tried to implement the 5 January declaration on the rights of minorities, if a coherent plan about schools and institutions had been made then, those unfortunate local initiatives would never have existed. But, because inter-ethnic relations were avoided, the Hungarians, sensitive to the issue, took position, statements were made, answers were given, and the situation was escalated.

Explaining the position of the Hungarians in Romania who hurried to make their claims, Geza Domokos says essentially the following: we all were oppressed, isolated, we all lived in misery. But the Hungarian minority—whose denationalization had become state policy—

resented that very sharply. There were no longer Hungarian managers. More than one million Romanians were brought to Transylvania by the forced industrialization process. I do not deny Romanians the right to settle where they may choose to. But the newcomers did not know the traditions and the nature of inter-ethnic relations in the area which had also been through that mishap—the Vienna Award. All that ended up in frustration in Hungarians. As soon as they were free they naturally wanted to be restored to their rights. Maybe that was hasty. But it had been so in every field after the revolution.

Speaking in context about the separation of schools, Geza Domokos admits there were indeed "excesses, and haste, and irresponsible attitudes" on the part of Hungarians, but he showed that the Romanians put up "an extraordinary resistance, uncalled for in certain cases" and that "those who had lost the privileges" they had been given by the nomenklatura "rather than their posts" took the most uncompromising positions.

In Geza Domokos' opinion, the outburst of violence at Tirgu Mures "was the result of tension buildup, deftly used to advantage by someone", "by several" people he would not name but he doubts that the violent release of tension could calm the spirits down. "The other day a delegation of ministers, deputies and journalists traveled to Transylvania. As soon as they came back they should have issued a statement to say what things really are like, what was overdramatized, how about the Romanians' exodus....

It wasn't done. All had stopped at a strange amateur's stage. Nothing was solved. Neither the school problem, nor the signs."

In another line of ideas, Geza Domokos said he was afraid that if "HDUR is regarded by some people as an extremist organization then we may as well be under surveillance" in an allusion to the reorganization of the Securitate.

"However, there are also good things. We have a free press, we can tell our opinion without risking any consequence. There really are hopes for the better", Geza Domokos winds up.

'Appeal' to All Journalists, Television Stations

AU0908120390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 2 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed "appeal" to all journalists and television stations in the world; place and date not given]

[Text] An appeal to all journalists and television stations throughout the world who possess films, cassettes, and photographs taken during the tragic events—the "miners invasion"—of 14-15 June 1990 in Bucharest:

Please send to the address of the Office of Romania's Prosecutor General and to Romania's Prosecutor General Mr. Gheorghe Robu—Bucharest, 13 Alexandru Sahia Street, Romania—copies of all recorded films, video cassettes, and photographs in which aspects of the tragic events that took place after the "miners invasion" in Bucharest on 14-15 June 1990. Using these as a basis, we can start the legal investigation of all those who, on that occasion, through their deeds, violated the laws of our country. Thus, you will serve the establishment of the true legal order in Romania, which is an essential part of a genuine democracy and which ensures the unflinching observance of people's human rights.

Severin, Industrial Units Delegates View Reform

AU0908201190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1859 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 9/8/1990—A meeting took place on 8 August between Adrian Severin, minister assistant to the prime minister for reform and relations with parliament, and representatives of the boards of administration of large industrial units, as part of the government's programme of consultations and information on economic reform matters, says a communique of the Reform, Public Information and Relations Council.

The government's intention on economic reform were shown, as well as those on reorganising state enterprises into autonomous companies and commercial societies. An essential role in the process is played by the drive to reorganize large enterprises in small and medium-sized units that are given operating autonomy in order to end the present monopoly on production and put the conditions in place for competition.

Stress was also laid on the pressing need to give more authority to the technical and administrative management of economic units, which is supported by the state through acknowledgement of the future boards of administration's full competence. In that way, the state will no longer own enterprises, but become a stockholder. Neither the government, nor the local administrations will issue instructions or tasks to enterprises which will make their own decisions on production.

Furthermore, the boards of administration must become partners of trade unions in negotiating and settling their specific claims, and cooperate with them for an efficient activity on which the well-being of all employees depends.

However, the management of enterprises alone can decide on their administration, labour organization, and technological and production discipline.

Albanian Delegates Make Appeal to Federal Bodies

LD0908175190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1120 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—At today's session of the SFRY Assembly's Federal Chamber, on behalf of ten delegates of Albanian nationality, Riza Aljaj presented and justified their appeal to the SFRY Assembly, the State Presidency and the Federal Executive Council to "make efforts to overcome the dramatic situation in Kosovo and to preserve Yugoslavia as a community of equal nations and nationalities."

The appeal notes that, following the decision of the Serbian Assembly to dissolve the Kosovo Assembly and other provincial bodies, the situation in Kosovo has been getting worse day by day. "Measures taken so far, as well as those announced, not only contradict the constitutional principle of equality in our country, but represent threats to the physical survival of the Albanian nationality."

Pristina TV, Radio Workers Continue 'Boycott'

AU1008081590

[Editorial Report] Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian on 3 August carries in its weekly four-page television and radio program supplement for 3-9 August, which has no page numbers, various items concerning the current situation in Pristina Radio and Television [PRT].

A "Communique of the Central Council of PRT Workers" states:

"The decision of the organs imposed on PRT, recently communicated to the media, concerning the dismissal from work of 350 workers of this institution is further evidence of the continuity of the unbridled Serbian policies in Kosovo. The number of those dismissed from work at PRT has now risen to 550, although there are 1,300 Albanian workers boycotting work. This boycott will continue until the conditions set earlier are met.

"The Workers Council and its authorities also informs PRT workers that various forms of pressure are being exerted by the imposed management against some of them (their number is fortunately small) to persuade them to start work. The legitimate organs of PRT forcefully repeat their stand that nobody is authorized to bargain with the illegitimate management or to the detriment of the programming or editorial policy which was in force until 5 July this year.

"The bastardization of the Albanian-language music and talk programs, to which certain other television stations such as Skopje and Titograd are contributing, the planned curtailment of Albanian-language programs, and the possible temporary closure of PRT are a further sign of the blindness of the policy of the Serbian leadership and its servants in Kosovo.

"Efforts to continue our basic activities and to find ways to preserve PRT's integrity continue. In spite of the blocking of our basic resources, the Workers Council and the other legitimate PRT organs are taking the necessary measures to continue in their fundamental work (mainly reporting), about which workers and the public will be informed in due course, this communique states among other things."

Under the daily program schedule, under the heading "Announcement," the paper states:

"Because of the introduction of temporary measures, PRT is still not preparing Albanian-language programs. It is true that some documentaries occasionally appear, while the program slots, set aside for news broadcasts, are filled by news from the television stations of Sarajevo, Titograd, and Skopje. For this reason, we once again provide the old PRT program schedule as planned before the forced suspension of Albanian-language programs."

The paper also carries statements from the Presidium of the Kosovo Composers Association and various Kosovo folk groups and singers, protesting at the use of their recordings by the "puppet management" of PRT.

Serbia Says RILINDJA Must Be 'Closed Down'

AU0908163190 Zagrev VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 8 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Serbian Assembly Closed Down RILINDJA"]

[Text] Zagreb—According to the unofficial news which we received last Tuesday [31 July], the Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Serbia discussed a number of issues, including the introduction of special measures in the Trepca and some 20 other work organizations in Kosovo, as well as the merit of still publishing the RILINDJA newspaper, considering that the paper, in the view of many people in Serbia, is endangering Serbia's interests in the southern province. As has been learned that the Serbian Assembly has decided to send a protest letter in Cyrillic to the Slovene Assembly in which the declaration on sovereignty is referred to as a new example of separatism. The Assembly's decision to place an embargo on the discussion caused difficulties in reporting. The confirmation of the news concerning the closing of the Pristina newspaper came via telex from the RILINDJA's editorial board.

Alleged Poisoning of Kosovars Examined, Debated

Effect on 'Albanian Collective Psyche'

AU1008075890 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 3 Aug 90 p 4

["V.S."-signed commentary: "Poisoning as a Crime"]

[Text] Many people in Kosovo today will welcome, with a kind of relief, Dr. Benedetti's assertion that poisoning

took place in Kosovo and that its agent has even been discovered, because the truth about this tragedy which fell upon us a few months ago has finally been announced. Besides the physical effects of poisoning, it had an extraordinary effect on the Albanian collective psyche, both in spreading fear that the population would be poisoned and because of the unknown cause of this "mystery."

However, apart from the fact that "the mystery has been explained" by world experts, it seems that we must also confront another consequence, which is the knowledge that someone, here and now, is in a position to carry out such a crime as poisoning in the name of one ideology or another.

The Yugoslav authorities—who have so far hurried to explain to the world that the Albanians killed by the police were terrorists, those imprisoned were irredentists, those dismissed from work were lazy, those beaten were hooligans, and those poisoned were malingerers—are faced again with another test for magicians who must pull rabbits out of their famous hats. This time, Yugoslav diplomacy must try to find additional evidence, as did the Turkish authorities in Anatolia concerning the poisoning of the Kurds, about a horror which took place on its territory. To judge by their behavior so far, it cannot be doubted that the whole affair will be declared "a new anti-Yugoslav invention," in which Dr. Benedetti has played a walk-on part, paid well by the "Albanian lobby."

Can anybody in Yugoslavia behave in this a way before the eyes of the world, with promises that he is on the road to parliamentary democracy, a market economy, and full respect for human rights? Yes, if he is able to subsist on his own meaningless words and the promises about democracy he issues to the world. From today, the world knows yet another "mystery" in Yugoslavia: The empty words about genocide which were used a few years ago to describe the acts of the Albanians against the Serbs in Kosovo have now acquired a meaning, because the Albanians have now been exposed not only to all kinds of brutal discrimination, but to the physical extermination which the use of poison always implies.

French Doctor Claims Poisoning Occurred

AU1008080090 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 3 Aug 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "Agent of Poisoning in Kosovo Discovered"]

[Text] The International Federation for Human Rights, whose general secretary is the Paris lawyer Fabienne Rousseau-Lenoire, has returned several times in alarm to the Yugoslav autonomous province of Kosovo in order to witness the dramatic and disturbing events there. We publish the evidence given by Dr. Bernard Benedetti to the newspaper LA CORSE, which has recently been quoted by all the world's news agencies.

Dr. Bernard Benedetti, who works in Gistonaccia, is well known for his work and solidarity for the cause of Afghanistan and later for Romania. As a doctor for Medecins du Monde and a member of the Kosovo Association for the Protection of Human Rights, he decided to break his silence and react to international public opinion.

The testimony he sent to us is shocking:

"I assert," he told us, "that more than 3,000 young people and minors were poisoned in the January to May period of this year. Albanian secondary school pupils were the most seriously affected."

Repression constantly increases. Young people's demonstrations in Kosovo are increasing, and intellectuals are being sentenced to prison. (Let us mention the case of the writer Adem Demaci, a symbol of struggle for democracy and freedom, who spent almost 30 years in Yugoslav prisons, and whose time as a political prisoner should touch the conscience of the world.)

Sentences for crimes of thought are innumerable. Between 1981 and 1989, 1,000 pupils were expelled from schools. In the same period, the Albanian directors of 80 percent of enterprises were dismissed and replaced by Serbs. In conflicts in the first three months of this year, 34 people were killed and 241 wounded.

Dr. Bernard Benedetti visited Kosovo several times in this tense situation, and used his own equipment to obtain not only audiovisual but medical evidence of "a real campaign." The samples analyzed in two well-equipped laboratories in France showed the existence of enzymatic irregularities, marked by a high and significant increase in cholesterosis. The laboratories testing the samples produced formal conclusions indicating the presence of a toxic agent close in molecular structure to poison of the "lindane" type, used in agricultural pesticides. However, exactly what kind of molecule involved remains to be determined.

Those poisoned complained of great pain in the stomach and head, vomiting, and cramp in their limbs.

Sticks Thrown From Cars

How was this collective poisoning carried out?

The many witnesses that we asked at the site of the events said that cars drew up to the schools and that "sticks" of poison were thrown into the classrooms.

Boxes with powder were also found in the classrooms.

The sticks released a toxic substance, which poisoned several hundred adults within one day. There were occasional relapses.

How were Serbian pupils able to escape the poison? Dr. Benedetti replies that the secondary school in one town that was affected by poisoning had 1,622 pupils, of which only 50 were Serbs.

It must be realized that at schools the morning is set aside for Serbian pupils, and the afternoon for Albanians. This is genuine apartheid.

The Serbian pupils have their own teachers of the same nationality, and the Albanian pupils have their own teachers, whom nobody consulted about this division.

As for hospitals with Albanians, they are watched by uniformed or plainclothes guards from the Serbian police, who systematically confiscate passports or prevent the issue of documents which could help to reveal the cause of the poisoning. Serbian "security" people even supervise the consulting rooms and watch the doctors.

In March, I saw with my own eyes the cars bringing the young people to the hospital with signs of poisoning.

It must also be realized that armed Serbian police decide, without consulting doctors, whether a patient can be admitted to hospital or not.

Terrifying Testimony

I was able to gather a certain amount of evidence on film, which shows how agents provocateurs came to this town from Belgrade on 22 March. The evidence we saw incontrovertibly shows how people whom the Albanians pointed out were covered and protected by the Serbian police. This evidence was filmed by Albanian cameramen from Kosovo Television, and censorship banned its distribution.

It is not in my domain to say who started this incredible business of poisoning with toxic gas, or why, but from the start of clinical tests and during the investigations carried out among different people, teachers, the remaining Albanian police, the childrens' families, and adults, I have asserted that there was large-scale poisoning. I hope that international organizations will be able to send a commission of investigation which will be able to operate freely and express its opinion publicly.

Dr. Mark Daniel, a pediatrician from Bastia, returned with another doctor from Kosovo 10 days ago.

I tried for a week to discover other evidence in connection with the research I carried out in March.

We can state that adults who have never before in their lives shown any signs of hysteria have fallen victim to abnormal nervous attacks, which also recur. This illustrates another course of curious events which it would be a good idea to follow and analyze.

The aim of my mission was to meet with Kosovo Albanian doctors and the "Sisters of Mercy" founded by Mother Theresa, herself an Albanian.

Regarding humanitarian medical aid, we have entered into a moral contract with the doctors of the "Mother Theresa" mission, which should receive the aid in August, if the Serbian government in Kosovo does not oppose this.

There is a very great shortage of medicines and medical materials in Kosovo.

Humanitarian medical aid is necessary, as is international concern at the present situation in Kosovo from a hygienic, human, and political point of view. As a humanitarian doctor, I cannot keep silent in the context of political arguments. I am therefore raising this signal of alarm, because the children who have been poisoned today may tomorrow become victims of even worse and more serious savagery.

Democratic Party Protests Serbian Party Merger

AU0908181890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Aug 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Assessment of the Constitutionality of the Founding of the Socialist Party of Serbia"]

[Text] Belgrade—The Democratic Party [Demokratska stranka] has submitted a proposal to the Constitutional Court of Serbia that it launch a procedure to assess the constitutionality of the unification of the League of Communists of Serbia and the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia into the Socialist Party of Serbia, since it is of the opinion that this unification was carried out "in an unconstitutional fashion."

"Since both the League of Communists of Serbia and the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia are constitutional categories and their position is regulated by the basic principles (eighth section) of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Serbia, it is clear that the aforementioned unification has seriously violated the Constitution of Serbia," this proposal states.

In the text, which was signed by Kosta Cavoski, president of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Party, it is also stated that "the Democratic Party does not have anything against a new party being set up by citizens who have until recently been members of the League of Communists of Serbia and the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia. However, it resolutely points out that this new party cannot be created in an unconstitutional way through the formal unification of the aforementioned organizations and with the intention of the new party being their legal successor, as the Socialist Party of Serbia now is."

It is also assessed that, with the cessation of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia, the delegates of the Assembly of Serbia in the Sociopolitical Chamber have lost their delegate power base of working people and citizens organized in the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Serbia and it is not clear who they now represent.

"Finally, the aforementioned unification led to the arbitrary appropriation of all the property of the Socialist

Alliance of Working People of Serbia, that had been acquired using resources from the budgets of the republic and other sociopolitical communities, which amounts to the grand larceny of national property," this proposal states.

DELO Commentary on Serb, Slovene Relations

AU1008084490 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Aug 90 p 28

[Boris Jez commentary: "The 'Multidiagonal' of the European Subcontinent"]

[Text] Jovan Raskovic: "But the situation was such that, believe me, it bordered on the verge of an uprising. There are fools who are capable of calling on these crazy Serbs—and Serbs are crazy people."

Slaven Letica: "The Croats are not much tamer, theirs is a similar nature."

Jovan Raskovic: "But Serbs die easily, and that is craziness." From this "psychiatric" talk between the leader of Serbs in Croatia, Jovan Raskovic (who is a psychiatrist by profession) and Croatian President Franjo Tudjman (Tudjman's personal adviser, Slaven Letica, was also present) it is immediately clear why the Balkans are called a powder keg. If one people is "crazy" and the other "not much tamer," their mutual conflict can come to no good, because the situation makes any rational solution impossible in advance. However, the psychiatrist Raskovic and the historian Tudjman are obviously making an effort to reach a reasonable agreement which is, however, slipping out of their hands more and more each day.

A new unpleasant turn in mutual relations is the fact that a transcript of the aforementioned talks between the leaders was carried by Zagreb DANAS. It is impossible to overlook a certain inferiority and schizophrenia in Jovan Raskovic which, together with some of his statements, greatly compromise him and may mean his departure from the political scene. In that case, the reins will be taken from his hands by the "hawk"—Jovan Opacic—and it is debatable whether the rational dialogue between the two peoples in Croatia will completely die down. With Jovan Opacic, the Serbian minority in Croatia would finally turn into agents of Belgrade policy in Croatia; therefore, everything would decline below the level of the relations before the concluding of the Cvetkovic-Macek agreement.

It is certainly interesting that, at this moment, Yugoslavia is somehow going "back to the future," because some "traditional" political and national strategies are, in fact, becoming topical again. Thus, let us say, many analysts of the Yugoslav situation think that Serbia has been returning to the roots of Nikola Pasic's political philosophy, while Croatian "geopolitics" have once again been been caught in the "traditional" space between Belgrade and Rome (the issue of Istria and Dalmatia). One should not have to wait long for an adequate reaction from Slovenia. After an idle period of several months between Ljubljana and Zagreb (one remembers, among other things, Kucan's proposal on a confederation with Croatia), Slovene politicians have obviously begun to think that "south-east politics" should not be so simplified. Significant in this respect is Peter Jambrek's article in the DELO Saturday Supplement in which he points to the "traditional" connections between Belgrade and Ljubljana, and the intertwined Slovene and Serbian interests. Is such a radical turn on the Yugoslav political scene really possible, so that the Ljubljana-Belgrade axis can be formed anew?

A certain thaw in the relations between Slovenia and Serbia is certainly possible, but it is hard to believe that the situation before the war—when Croatia was, so to speak, in the vice of the "close" relations between Belgrade and its Ljubljana branch—can be repeated at any level. One of the most complicated stages of the breakup of Tito's Yugoslavia had certainly been passed; then the basic conflict in the country developed on an artificial field, while Croatia was more or less an observer. Belgrade, which, in a way, is at a war with everybody, will now slowly begin to realize that at least bearable relations with Ljubljana, although they do not carry much weight, may be extraordinarily precious in the complicated Yugoslav-Balkan relations (by the way, the Belgrade press has all but stopped the propaganda war against Slovenia).

The most important question at this moment is whether or not Slobodan Milosevic and his "team" will decide to increase their pressure on Croatia. The recent "uprising" of the Croatian Serbs, who are demanding nothing less than the right to self-determination, gives Belgrade an extremely powerful trump with which it may blackmail Tudjman. In fact this is a double edged sword: The Croatian leader is undoubtedly not so impetuous as to resort to repressive measures in the "group of communities" in Zadar and Sibenik hinterland, thus embarking on a sort of a "Kosovo adventure." Belgrade is certainly waiting for such thoughtless moves, above all. If, however, Tudjman manages to keep his cool, then Milosevic's "Dinara" offensive will break up into extremist acts of individual, fanaticized "outlaws." Additionally, Belgrade's overt support to such an atavistic and, so to speak, exotic movement, would compromise Belgrade not only to the outside, but gradually and increasingly also among the Serbian public. It is a fact that Serbian national fundamentalism also has its justification in time and politics, whether the present authorities artificially incite it or not.

Belgrade probably knows that it is waging war on at least two fronts, and that at least one more (the Hungarian minority, Sandzak, etc.) may open any time. Under such circumstances, the authorities, which are yet to be tested at the first free elections, would probably try to adopt a positional warfare on the "Croatian front" and therefore not aggravate the conflict to the point of unpredictability. It is therefore not to be excluded that Belgrade may nevertheless try to rescue Jovan Raskovic, since militant Opacic may be too much of a risk. Certainly, the "Knin

question" will remain a kind of a constant in Croatian-Serbian relations, the consequences of which will also influence other relations in that part of the late Tito's Yugoslavia.

On the other hand, the Croat Serbs are Tudjman's most unpleasant inheritance from AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation of Yugoslavia]. He would probably strive to solve that matter in the long run, but now he has looming in front of him the clouds of the "Istria question" which may become even more unpleasant. In his negotiations with Belgrade, the Croatian leader would therefore act resolutely, but would still be prepared for any reasonable agreements which may help him consolidate the Croatian internal political scene. Concerning the fact that the real Serbian problems in Kosovo are in fact only beginning, one can expect appropriate help from that side as well. There will be nothing unusual if the spirit of "post-Yugoslavia" extremely favors national states and if national minorities, which are in fact the main problem, end up as the losers. By the way, the question is whether it pays the Albanians or the Croat Serbs to put all their eggs in one basket—the one of self-determination—and not to try to achieve better relations.

Under such circumstances, it would be bad for Slovenia if it were close to one side but not the other, or if it even returned to its "traditional" political strategy of the prewar years. The political future of (sovereign and independent) Slovenia is in an "actively neutral" position—that is, in a role which is now being played in the Third World by the "uncompromised" states, such as Austria, Sweden, etc. In short, in cleaning up the Yugoslav political battlefield, the Republic of Slovenia may play the role not only of a mediator, but also of an active factor of the Yugoslav-Balkan detente. One should know that its role at the rim of West and Central Europe is only minimal, but its significance may increase terrifically at the point of contact between Europe and its Balkan "subcontinent." However, one should not forget, of course, that other members of the Yugoslav community have traditionally been the market for many Slovene products and that therefore its position on a market which lasted almost half a century should not be dropped just like that.

Slovene Prime Minister Lojze Peterle and Foreign Minister Dimitrij Rupel are now travelling primarily through Europe and the United States, and it obviously has not so much as crossed their minds to set off for a capital city in Yugoslavia (if one discounts the meeting with Croatian leadership at Otocec). They certainly have many convincing excuses for doing so, for instance, that they do not really have to have talks with illegitimate republican leaderships, but they cannot have a clean conscience. It is a fact that such "moralist" reasons do not fit pragmatic politics and that the strategic political pragmatism dictates the future little state of Slovenia to properly consolidate itself on "all four sides of the sky." In short, the "sympathies" of Vienna and Rome, as well as exclusive relations with "the military frontier" in the south will not suffice for the Slovene international political position. The Slovene European position, whether one wanted it or not, would also have to be established through at least quite good relations with Belgrade, Skopje, etc.

What is therefore involved is that Ljubljana's foreign policy, in the philosophic and practical sense should transcend its "traditional" status in Yugoslavia (one should remember Dr. Anton Korosec [Slovene prewar politician] again) and turn toward the "subcontinent" in a new way. The problem is not at all that one should make any effort to renew Yugoslavia, but it is a fact that the territory where Yugoslavia is now will certainly not remain an empty political and economic space.

'Yugoslav' Newscast Opposed by Slovene TV

AU0808154190 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 90 p 6

[D. Damjanovic report: "It Is Unacceptable for a Joint Newscast To Be a Substitute for Republican Ones"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 2 Aug—Slovene Television accepts the idea of a Yugoslav newscast and, as its director Stane Grah announced, it finds the Federal Executive Council's idea interesting, and thinks it is a good one. At the same time, it does not accept the idea of a Yugoslav newscast being a substitute for the republican ones. According to Grah, the "ninth newscast" can only be a supplementary program. Likewise, it does not agree that the costs of a Yugoslav newscast should be covered by advertisements. The financing of the "ninth newscast" should be provided by its initiator.

The language is a hindrance because programming on Slovene Television is only in Slovene. Therefore, Slovene Television is officially in favor of carrying a "ninth broadcast," but, in practice, it is against it. As another reason against it, Stane Grah cited the idea that a Yugoslav newscast is connected with the founding of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia.

Slovene Television did not carry Ante Markovic's speech during the festivities on Kozara precisely because the founding of the party was announced at that event.

Apart from all this, it is not inappropriate to recall that the leadership and journalists of Slovene Television also have "domestic concerns." The Demos [Democratic Opposition of Slovenia] coalition is adhering to its demand for the removal of those who are not up to the conditions of a multiparty system that have newly arisen in Slovenia, and who represent the cat's-paws of the old authorities.

Justice Secretary Prepares To Pardon Prisoners

AU0808135390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 90 p 12

[Unattributed report: "Amnesty After the Law"]

[Text] Belgrade—In his official capacity and within the framework of his legal powers, after the implementation of the law on amending and supplementing the SFRY Criminal Legal Code on 6 August, Vlado Kambovski,

federal secretary for justice and administration, will initiate a procedure for the amnesty of persons who are serving sentences and have been convicted of criminal acts specified in the federal Criminal Law. This is stated in an announcement by the Federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration issued by the Information Secretariat of the Federal Executive Council.

The federal secretary has scheduled a meeting with republican and provincial secretaries for justice and administration in order to examine the newly-arisen situation and the possibility of a common approach to possible amnesty in all republics and provinces for criminal acts regulated by their respective criminal laws.

Problems arose in the penal institutions of the Socialist Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina, the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, and the Socialist Republic of Serbia after the Socialist Republic of Croatia adopted a law on amnesty, and these are manifested, as is well known, by refusal to work, by a hunger strike, and by the demands made by those serving sentences to be included in the amnesty too. The statement recalls that in the middle of July the Federal Secretariat for Justice and Administration asked all republican and provincial secretariats for all the necessary information on prisoners so that once they are processed the Federal Secretary for Justice and Administration can, in his official capacity, initiate the amnesty procedure in line with the provisions of the law on amnesty.

Raskovic Protests Tudjman Transcript Publication

AU0908162190 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 90 p 11

[Reprint of interview with Serbian Democratic Party President Jovan Raskovic by R. Matijas, published in VECERNJE NOVOSTI "yesterday"; place and date not given: "Milosevic Yes, Socialism No"]

[Excerpts] [Matijas] It is unusual, almost unprecedented, that a transcript of talks between two top politicians, leaders, or, as you say, "servants" of the people, is published—this was our first question to Academician Jovan Raskovic, leader of the Serbian Democratic Party, following the publication of the transcript of his conversation with Dr. Tudjman in DANAS.

[Raskovic] Transcripts are in fact the remnants of the police system and show that the police system in this country, if it does not exist, is being set up. It is quite unclear and incomprehensible how a president of a state can give a transcript to journalists. Up to now, transcripts have only rarely been given to journalists, because this is the same as if you were recording somebody having a conversation with his mistress in a private room, and then making this recording available to the public. Dr. Tudjman says that he made this transcript available to journalists because of some of my statements that compromised him, and that he wanted to show to his party that the things were not the way I said.

If, however, somebody does not like the way I speak, then they should say so, and not make transcripts available to the media. This is not only a police method. This is in fact a dirty blow. This could be compared with a situation in boxing when one boxer drops his hands before the bell sounded and his opponent hits him. A casual conversation between two or three people cannot be recorded as a document. This is absurd. This is unprecedented. This is in fact nothing but a dirty trick, regardless of who plays it. [passage omitted]

[Matijas] Finally professor, you mentioned a boxing term, a blow below the belt. It appears from the transcript that there was a time restriction on the meeting. You were on your own and Mr. Tudjman was accompanied by his adviser Letica. Was this, let us use a sports term, an unfair fight?

[Raskovic] We are not talking about an unfair fight. I only realized that the conversation was recorded when everything was over, when a technician came in and started pulling some leads about. This is therefore not only the question of good manners among the people. Everywhere else in the world, people ask whether a conversation can be recorded. Besides, transcripts of talks are not published. Did you ever hear of the synopsis of talks between Stalin and Roosevelt having been published? [passage omitted]

Number of Reform 'Alliance' Branches Said Rising

AU0908133690

[Editorial Report] Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian on 8 August on page 5 carries a list of the local branches of the party that was recently announced by the government, the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia. The list includes the local branches' addresses and the names of their presidents.

According to the list, there are 98 such local branches all over Yugoslavia: 39 in Bosnia-Hercegovina; seven in Montenegro; 18 in Croatia; 13 in Macedonia; two in Slovenia; 10 in Serbia; and nine in Vojvodina.

Assembly Adopts Draft 'Information System' Law

LD0908104190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0741 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—Unconditional freedom of the press is the gist of the new draft law based on the public information system adopted by the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber delegates at the beginning of today's session. Under this law all physical and legal Yugoslav entities will be allowed to establish pulic media organizations, while foreigners will be allowed to invest up to one quarter of the resources necessary.

In view of the fact that the law does not contain categories such as "censorship" or "suitabality," and does not envisage any outside control over editorial

policy, the responsibility of editors for program orientation has been outlined in specific detail.

Markovic Pleased With Constitutional Amendments

AU0908164690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] In connection with the adoption of the federal Constitution amendments by the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly yesterday, Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, assessed this act as an expression of the will of all the republics and provinces to make possible a continuation of the reform in Yugoslavia. The prime minister stated this in a short conversation with journalists before the beginning of the Federal Executive Council session today. Kosta Krajincanic reports in more detail:

[Begin recording] [Krajincanic] Although the amendments have not yet been definitively adopted—the republican and provincial assemblies have yet to give their consent—it is very significant that the amendments received unanimous support in the Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly yesterday, Ante Markovic stressed.

[Markovic] We must express our great satisfaction at what was accomplished through this act. This decision, in fact, confirmed that, regardless of the volume of difficulties and problems we have—and how many we still have to master to emerge from the crisis we are now enduring—all the fears and indications that Yugoslavia does not function and does not exist, and that it is in a stage of disintegration... [sentence as heard]. The adoption of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution yesterday, as a proposal that is submitted for final approval as a whole package, is an expression of the will of all the republics and provinces and the peoples and nationalities of this country—expressed through the SFRY Assembly Federal Chamber—that, through the adoption of the amendments to the SFRY Constitution, the future course of reform in Yugoslavia be made possible.

As you know, these amendments contain great changes in the economic sphere—primarily regarding pluralism of ownership and privatization of property—in the field of the protection of human rights and freedoms, and in the scope being opened for a multiparty [visepartijski i visestranacki] system in our country.

In conclusion, the applause with which the delegates of the SFRY Assembly expressed their pleasure at the adoption of the amendments to the Constitution yesterday, is not an expression merely of their personal feelings, but also of the feelings of the communities they represent.

[Krajincanic] Prime Minister Markovic assessed that the outcome of the discussion in the Federal Chamber yesterday indicates the possibility that the amendments to the SFRY Constitution will be definitively adopted by the fall; this will make the continuation of the reform possible.

Asked by the REUTERS correspondent why there is such optimism by the federal government when it is known that Serbia is putting up a blockade in the Assembly, Ante Markovic replied:

[Markovic] We do not see any existence of a blockade. There is a normal process of reaching an accord, it may be said, on the current documents that we have in the Federal Assembly. As you see, all the documents that are of fundamental significance for the development of our society have been adopted.

There is no reason, at least not here among us, for any excitement because of any stoppages of discussions of the documents that we should adopt.

[Krajincanic] A Belgrade Television reporter asked Ante Markovic how he assessed the contrasting public views on the formation of the Alliance of Reform Forces. Markovic replied as follows:

[Markovic] I have stressed at the beginning of this discussion that you are in the premises of the Federal Executive Council. I ask you to keep your questions within the sphere of the Federal Executive Council's duties. We can talk about parties in some other place.

[Krajincanic] At the end of the conversation, the prime minister was asked: Does he think the outcome of the discussion in the Federal Assembly yesterday will contribute to a reduction of confederal strivings in Yugoslavia, as well as the strivings for separation? Ante Markovic replied briefly: Yes. [end recording]

Knin Militia Protests Use of Croatian Symbols

AU0908141390 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 90 p 6

[M. Cetnik report: "Those Who Do Not Want the Checkerboard Should Become Rebels"]

[Excerpt] Knin, 3 Aug—The dispute concerning police in the Knin commune, between the communal leadership and the Croatian authorities, has acquired new dimensions. The Executive Council of the Knin Communal Assembly yesterday sent a letter of protest to the Internal Affairs Ministry of Croatia because of the republican government's refusal to reconstitute an Internal Affairs Secretariat in Knin. This written protest was directly linked to yesterday's visit by Ante Bujas, secretary of the Sibenik Communal Secretariat for Internal Affairs, to the Knin police station, which is under the jurisdiction of the Sibenik police. The Knin militiamen again sharply opposed the possibility of having to wear the notorious "checkerboard" symbols on their uniforms.

It has been learned that there were no-holds-barred during the talks between Ante Bujas and the Knin

militiamen. The Sibenik militia chief complained about the poor discipline of the Knin militiamen, but precisely this fact was considered to be a reason for returning the Internal Affairs Secretariat to Kninby, by the other side during the talks. [passage omitted]

Two National Peasant, Farmers Parties Merge

LD0808161290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1355 GMT 8 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Peasant-Farmers Party [Seljacka Jugoslovenska Stranka] in Bosanska Gradiska has merged with the People's Peasant-Farmers' Party [Narodna Seljacka Stranka] in Belgrade, adopting its program, statute, and hallmarks. Journalists were told this during a news conference held at the end of a joint session of the Executive Committee of both parties, during which the decision on the merger was taken unanimously. The People's Peasant-Farmers' Party which has been strengthened by the addition of about 8,200 members of the former Yugoslav Peasant-Farmers' Party, will work for economic consolidation of farm holdings, political, religious and national equality of peasant farmers, security and development of the private property of our citizens, and also for a peaceful solution to Yugoslavia's social problems.

Macedonian 'Democratic Action' Party Assembly

LD0908211690 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1332 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Tetovo, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—An electoral assembly of the Party of Democratic Action in Macedonia [Partija Demokratske Akcije u Makedoniji] was held in Tetovo today. It was attended by guests from Zagreb, Pristina, and Novi Pazar, and by Alija Izetbegovic, the party chairman from Sarajevo. According to an adopted program, the party is a political organization of citizens of Macedonia, i.e. Yugoslavia, who belong to an historic cultural Muslim circle, as well as of all those citizens who accept the party's program and goals. The party will support Macedonia as a sovereign and free community of equal nations and nationalities, and a Macedonia as an important component of Yugoslavia.

New Bosnian Branch of Serbian Democratic Party

LD0908221990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1954 GMT 9 Aug 90

[Text] Bijeljina, 9 Aug (TANJUG)—In the presence of approximately 40,000 people, the founding assembly of the Serbian Democratic Party for northern Bosnia was held in Bijeljina this evening. The assembly was attended by Academician Dr. Jovan Raskovic, president of the Serbian Democratic Party from Knin, and by Bosnia-Hercegovina party president, Dr. Radovan Karadzic. Almost continuously, several dozen people, mostly Muslims, chanted slogans supporting Tito and Yugoslavia. At one point it seemed that the assembly might be interrupted, but order was reestablished thanks to timely police intervention. Even after the assembly had finished, two groups of people stood opposite each other and chanted slogans—one supporting Tito, the other Slobodan Milosevic and Serbia.

New Multilingual Magazine Launched in Ljubljana

AU0908091490 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 4 Aug 90 p 6

["D. D."-signed report: "Legally Published 'Illegal' Magazine"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 3 Aug—A new magazine was presented today on the premises of Ljubljana DELO which will be published once a month in Albanian, English, Slovene, and Serbo-Croatian and will be called LIRIJA. The initiator, financial backer, and chief and responsible editor is Ramadan Marmulaku, former Yugoslav ambassador. The magazine's publisher is the Ljubljana "Press Center DOO [expansion not known]" which is due to turn into the Slovene news agency. As its creators said, the magazine will be sold illegally in Kosovo and Macedonia. They also expressed their utmost gratitude to the publisher who printed 10,000 copies of the first edition.

SFRY Reporters 'Turned Back' at Bulgarian Border

AU0908132990 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 3 Aug 90 p 5

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "Journalists of NOVA MAKEDONIJA and Skopje Radio and Television Turned Back at Border"]

[Text] Skopje, 2 Aug—State authorities of the People's Republic of Bulgaria yesterday turned back NOVA MAKEDONIJA reporters, Miroslav Spirovski and Georgije Licoski, at the border crossing of Zlatarevo. At the same time, Skopje Radio and Television teams headed by Marko Ilkoski and Vladimir Lape were turned back at the Gyushevo border crossing. Border authorities did not explain to the NOVA MAKEDONIJA reporters why they were being denied entry into Bulgaria although they possessed valid travel documents. Journalists of the Skopje Radio and Television were told that journalists and cameramen could cross the border, but without the necessary filming equipment.

Joint SFRY-Albanian Railroad Cooperation Viewed

AU0908104290 Zagreb VJESNIK in Serbo-Croatian 2 Aug 90 p 1

[Unattributed TANJUG report: "Cooperation with Albanian Railroads"]

[Text] Belgrade—Representatives of the Albanian railroads have indicated the possibility of advancing cooperation with our railroad transportation enterprises, it is said in the Yugoslav railroad community. During the talks conducted in Tirana and Durres, Ferdinand Tako, Albanian deputy minister of transportation, mentioned the possibility of increasing the volume of freight carried, and even the introduction of rail passenger traffic between Titograd and Shkoder. Summing up cooperation to this point, it is said in the Yugoslav railroad community, the delegations of the Yugoslav and Albanian railroads noted that overall transportation of freight, and the transit of Albanian freight through our country, have to some extent increased. Both sides remarked that the existing transportation capacities should be utilized to full extent possible.

Markovic Meets With French Prime Minister Rocard

LD0808124490 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1208 GMT 8 Aug 90

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Aug (TANJUG)—Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic had a meeting in the Kornati group of islands area yesterday with French Prime Minister Michel Rocard, according to the FEC Information Secretariat. During a cordial and open conversation on current issues and on relations between the two countries, Prime Minister Rocard expressed support for the Yugoslav efforts concerning the implementation of the socioeconomic reform and made a positive assessment of the results attained to date. During the meeting views were exchanged on the situation in Europe and in the world in which context special attention was paid to the new situation which has arisen in the Middle East in connection with Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. During their meeting Ante Markovic hosted a dinner for his French guest.